MY COLONIAL SERVICE

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SIR WILLIAM DES VOEUX

MY COLONIAL SERVICE

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IN BRITISH GUIANA, ST. LUCIA, TRINIDAD, FIJI, AUSTRALIA, NEWFOUNDLAND, AND HONG KONG WITH INTERLUDES

By SIR G. WILLIAM DES VŒUX, G.C.M.G.

WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

67220
1/12/05

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1903

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THE steamer which carried us to Australia was a considerable improvement on the *Wentworth* of the same company, in which we had gone to Fiji, and the voyage was uneventful. At Sydney we were hospitably entertained for some days by Commodore and Mrs. Wilson, who made our stay agreeable.

Leaving for England in the *John Elder* of the Orient Line, after seeing something of Melbourne, we spent two days most pleasantly at Government House, Adelaide, with Sir William and Lady Jervois.

On re-embarking we found our vessel heavily laden with coal, stacked even on the upper deck. If in some respects an inconvenience, this had the advantage of carrying us,

save for a short call at King George's Sound, all the way to Suez without stopping the engines.

On rounding Cape Lewin, a storm kept us for two days below decks with battened-down hatches. Otherwise the voyage was favoured by the elements. Nevertheless, we were glad to leave the ship at Naples, where we spent a week. After another week at Rome we arrived in England early in December.

Perhaps our most agreeable recollection of the months previous to the birth of another son in England, were our Sunday dinners at Niddry Lodge, Kensington, with our friend, John Campbell of Islay, whose thorough acquaintance with what is best worth seeing there had done much to render specially agreeable our visit to Rome. Mr. Campbell maintained in London the traditions of old-fashioned Scottish hospitality. He seemed to offer his dinner invitations to most of the friends who visited his house on Sundays, encouraging them to come specially on that day. Partly because of the absence of conventionality, the parties, not unfrequently large, which were collected by these impromptu invitations were always agreeable.

John Campbell united with a particularly genial manner an artistic and scientific culture, which rendered his conversation specially attractive to myself, while he was by no means deficient in the lighter talk which suits general society. His death, of which we heard only long after it had happened, when we were again far away in Fiji, must have been felt as a very severe loss by his many friends, and there was scarcely anyone whom we missed so much when we returned to England. Mrs. Campbell, despite her blindness, afforded efficient assistance to her stepson in doing the honours of his house and rendering it agreeable; in fact, she was what might be expected in the mother of her better-known daughter, Lady Granville.

Early in the summer, I think towards the end of May, the Conservative Government, having been defeated, was about to resign office. I was still without an appointment

other than that at St. Lucia, and it seemed that after all I should be obliged to return to it. The prospect of resuming my old post, eleven years after my first appointment to it, was not a cheerful one. I was thus naturally in somewhat low spirits, when one day I fortunately met an influential friend in St. James's Park. Though I am not one who is fond of airing his grievances, he was so persistently kind in his inquiries that I informed him frankly of my position. He was evidently so alive to its hardship that he kindly volunteered to go at once and represent my case to the Secretary of State.

Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who then filled that office (having succeeded to it on Lord Carnarvon's resignation), informed my friend that there was no other government vacant except that of the Bahamas, my appointment to which would, it was felt, be an insufficient recognition of my services. When it was explained to him that, however that might be, such an appointment was better than that of St. Lucia, to which otherwise I should be obliged immediately to return, he at once replied that in such case the Bahamas appointment would be at my disposal.

Sir Michael having loyally fulfilled his promise, by obtaining Her Majesty's assent to the appointment before he left office, I was duly gazetted as Governor of the Bahamas. Fate, however, willed it that I was not to assume the administration of this colony of which I was nominally Governor.

My wife being sufficiently recovered to undertake another voyage, and all our preparations having been made for immediate departure to my new post, we were one day surprised by a message from the Colonial Office, requesting that I would without a moment's delay go to see the Secretary of State. As the messenger had already been some hours looking for me, and had orders to follow me into the country or to any place where I might be residing, we presumed that the communication in prospect must be something important, and I went to Downing Street in high

anticipation. I found that Lord Kimberley (who was the new Secretary of State) had gone to the House of Lords, and he had accordingly deputed one of the Under Secretaries to see me. The latter at once informed me that Sir Arthur Gordon had just accepted the government of New Zealand "with supervision of native affairs in Fiji," and that Lord Kimberley, being impressed with the manner in which I had conducted the administration of the latter colony during Sir Arthur Gordon's absence, had felt that I ought to have the first offer of becoming his successor. In view, however, of the terms under which Sir Arthur had accepted his new appointment, his successor would not be Governor but Lieutenant-Governor, subordinate to the Governor of New Zealand, the salary being reduced from £5,000 to £3,000 per annum. As even this would be £800 a year more than the Bahamas salary, it was presumed that I would accept it. Without a moment's hesitation I replied, that while I, of course, felt it my duty to fall in with the Secretary of State's wishes, I should very much prefer, if the choice were offered to me, to go to the Bahamas rather than accept the appointment in Fiji on the terms offered. I said that I did not at all like the responsibility of governing Fiji under command from New Zealand. Occurrences were continually taking place which required immediate decision on the part of the Administrator; but instructions could never be obtained from New Zealand in less than three weeks, and would commonly be five weeks or more in reaching me. I should thus have frequently to incur dangerous delays, or my time would be unnecessarily taken up with endless explanations as to my reasons for acting on my own responsibility. Friction would almost certainly arise between the Lieutenant-Governor and the Governor, and though this was less likely than in any other case to occur between me and Sir Arthur Gordon, whose native policy I thoroughly approved, and for whose work I had a high admiration, yet even we did not agree at all points; and as we had both somewhat strong wills, I could foresee probable disagree-

ments, which I would much prefer to avoid. I added that, having had more than a year's experience of the expense of living in Fiji, I had no hesitation in saying that I did not regard the salary offered as sufficient to compensate me for such distant banishment and the laborious and exceptionally difficult duties of the office.

Thereupon the Under Secretary said that others would be glad to accept the offered appointment, and as I was unwilling to take it, they would, of course, look elsewhere. But though he assumed, as he was no doubt bound to do, a nonchalant air on the subject, he was not altogether able to conceal a certain vexation and disappointment, and I left him with the feeling that this interview had not improved my position in the department, being influenced by the prevalent notion which attaches official discredit to anyone who declines an offer made by the head of a department.

I had no conception that I was really wanted for the Fiji office; and so I was surprised, and not less pleased, by the receipt of a letter from Lord Kimberley himself, little more than an hour after I had left Downing Street. In this letter my interview with the Under Secretary was ignored, and it contained what was practically a request that I would undertake again the administration of Fiji, with the full powers and title of Governor, the salary being now fixed at £4,000, instead of £3,000 per annum. In any case I could not properly have refused a request so made, and I was, in fact, loth to do so. The offer showed that my work had earned me the confidence of the head of the department, while such a permanent appointment was a great step in the service.

The position of full Governor involved, of course, complete independence of anyone below the Secretary of State; and it was evident that whatever might be the nature of the supervision of native affairs which had been offered to Sir Arthur Gordon, it could not include any form of control. But this, which at first caused me an egoistic pleasure, created afterwards considerable apprehension with regard to possible misunderstanding on the part of Sir Arthur

Gordon. In its usual meaning "supervision" certainly implies "control," and I feared that he might have regarded the offer made to him in this sense, and would, consequently, resent my appointment to the position of an independent Governor; for I could hardly doubt that he had expected to retain the government of Fiji, while enjoying the temperate climate, and filling at the same time the ornamental position which appertains to the Governor of a Constitutional colony. Consequently when I was instructed to proceed to New Zealand, and to await there the arrival of Sir Arthur Gordon from Fiji, for the purpose of arranging with him as to his supervision, it was not without a certain trepidation that I regarded the prospect of our meeting.

I was informed that it was desirable that I should proceed to my destination as quickly as possible, and so had little time for preparation. The selection of a private secretary, who, being otherwise competent, has the qualities likely to render him an agreeable guest perhaps for a long period, is not easy, and the time at my disposal proved insufficient for the purpose. I was, however, fortunate in finding a most excellent aide-de-camp, whose position in Fiji demanded, besides the usual qualifications, those which would render him an efficient and sympathetic Commandant of the Native Armed Constabulary. This was Mr. Edward Herbert, then Lieutenant in, and lately Lieutenant-Colonel Commanding, the 60th Rifles. He was nephew of my old Guiana friend, William Herbert, and was strongly recommended to me by him. And never was recommendation more just, for during the two years of Edward Herbert's stay with us, I could not have found in him a single reason for fault-finding.

Before leaving, I was granted by Her Majesty, besides the commission of Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Fiji, that of Assistant High Commissioner and also a commission as High Commissioner, to remain dormant while Sir Arthur Gordon continued to hold that office, and only to come into force on his departure.

During my sojourn in England at this time, the Aborigines Protection Society being much interested in Fijian affairs, their Secretary, Mr. Chesson, came occasionally to see me. He was a through-thick-and-thin free-trader, in which respect I so far agreed with him as to believe that to free-trade policy was principally due the exceptional prosperity of England. But in our discussions of the subject, partly oral and partly in writing, I expressed strong doubts whether present economical advantage was not being purchased at what would eventually prove to be too heavy a cost. I pointed out that apart from the serious danger involved in rendering the cultivation of cereals unprofitable, and thus making us almost entirely dependent upon foreign countries for our food supply, want of employment was already driving the agricultural population into the towns, and would probably do so more and more, with the inevitable result of physical deterioration to the English race. At the same time I expressed a hope, which has not as yet been justified, that the severe labour-competition thus produced in the towns would some day induce the working-class voter to favour a policy which would attract labourers back to the country even at the cost of a somewhat dearer loaf. The statistics of military recruiting show that the forecast as to physical deterioration is only too correct, and seems likely in the course of time to seriously impair our power to defend our empire; while I have recently observed that the famine danger in case of war is receiving an increasing share of public attention. Possessing no land, I have no personal interest in this subject beyond that of any other subject of the crown; but I nevertheless feel strongly about it, and believe it to be of incomparably greater importance to our future than most others that engross the attention of our statesmen.

We determined to go to New Zealand *viâ* the United States, and we accordingly embarked at Liverpool in the Cunard steamer *Abyssinia* early in September, our party consisting, besides my wife and myself, of our two children

(one a two-months-old baby), Herbert, and Mr. George Eden, whom I had taken as extra member of my staff, with three servants.

When I came to think over calmly on board the extraordinary change which had come over our prospects, it suddenly occurred to me that I had had a forewarning of it, to which at the time I had paid little regard. Some weeks before I received Lord Kimberley's letter, when we were having luncheon at the German Embassy, Count (afterwards Prince) Munster said to me, as I thought in a joke: "You will have to go to Fiji again; indeed, I feel sure you will go." And when I asked why, he merely replied: "They think you get on so well with us." I had always been good friends with such few German officers as had come to visit me in the course of my service, but had never conceived this to imply any exceptional merit. Nor was I aware at the time, owing to my comparative unacquaintance with the affairs of the High Commission, that an *entente cordiale* with Germans was for any reason specially necessary in the Pacific; and I knew that Sir Arthur Gordon had been on the best of terms with Herr von Zembsh, who, as Consul-General in Samoa, represented German interests in that part of the world. Consequently I regarded Count Munster's expressions as merely complimentary, and at the time paid little heed to them. Now, however, I began to think that he had really known beforehand of the intention to appoint me to Fiji, and this view was confirmed by my subsequent experience of the somewhat conflicting interests of England and Germany in Samoa, and also of the number and nature of German land claims in Fiji. As to these claims, it may possibly have been thought that I was likely to take a more favourable view of them than Sir Arthur Gordon had been able to do. This idea, however, if entertained, proved to be mistaken. And the best I am able to say of these claims is that they were no worse than many others advanced by Englishmen and Americans.

Mention of Count Munster reminds me of an interesting

conversation which took place, I think in the same year, at Mr. Pender's table between him and the late Lord Derby. The subject of discussion was as to who in England had at that time the most permanent power. Finally they agreed upon two permanent officials, viz. Lord Redesdale, the Chairman of Committee of the House of Lords, and Sir Robert Herbert, of the Colonial Office. As to the latter I was able to understand, but the selection of the former caused me much surprise, as I had until then no notion of the comprehensiveness and responsibility of his duties.

On the evening of our arrival at New York there was brought to us a newspaper containing a column with a heading in leaded type, "The King of the Cannibal Islands in Town"; and there followed an account of our arrival, with a report of an interview with me, which not only made me ridiculous, but was absolutely fictitious. It turned out that Herbert, while busily engaged on the wharf, was assailed by a newspaper reporter. Possibly his replies were somewhat curt. In any case the reporter went away in a "huff," and revenged himself in this manner.

Most of our party availed themselves at once of the kind invitation of Mr. Abram Hewitt to visit him at his country place, Ringwood, New Jersey, where I joined them the following day. I remained behind for the purpose of accompanying Mr. Auguste Belmont to Jerome Park Races, where, besides himself, I was fortunate in seeing again several friends, including Ward McAllister, who had been hospitable to me in years long gone by.

After a short stay at Ringwood, which was rendered specially agreeable by the manifold attractions of a typical American family, we travelled comfortably to Niagara in the private car of the president of the Erie Railroad, which had been kindly procured for us by Mr. Hewitt.

The large hotels being closed, we "put up" at the very comfortable hostel kept by Mr. and Mrs. X. Y., close to the Horseshoe Fall on the Canadian side. Here we stayed for several days, the ordinary fascination of the place (which I

had seen many times before) being enhanced by the brilliant hues of the Indian summer vegetation.

The day after our arrival, "mine host," who, as well as his wife, was in every way kind and attentive, showed much curiosity about our destination, and especially about our boy, who already at his early age had three times crossed the Atlantic, been round the world, and seen all four quarters of the world, besides islands of the Pacific and three colonies of Australia. We imagined, of course, that our host's interest was purely personal. But it turned out that he was an agent of the Associated Press, which must at the time have been very short of interesting news. For two days afterwards when the New York papers arrived, there appeared a long account of our doings past and present, of our plan of journey, and especially of our "wonderful boy" and his peregrinations.

One morning when we were at breakfast, Mrs. X. Y., busy as usual in attending to our wants, was most communicative, and gave us an account of a distressing incident which had occurred to her when H.R.H. the Princess Louise was staying in the hotel. The Princess had earned her unlimited respect and admiration, creating a special desire to ensure her comfort and to provide her with the best. But one morning at breakfast the Princess on opening what was intended to be a new-laid egg, found it in a condition by no means fresh—in fact, containing a chicken in a somewhat advanced stage. Mrs. X. Y., on hearing of the untoward event, rushed into the room and was profuse in apologies, when, according to her version, the Princess endeavoured to soothe her agitation in the following words, which H.R.H. will scarcely recognise: "Lor' bless you, Mrs. X. Y., it don't matter; bless your heart, don't take on so!" The laughter which followed was fortunately attributable to the discovery of the chicken.

While at Niagara we learned to our dismay that all the private accommodation for passengers to the Pacific coast had been engaged for weeks ahead, and dreading the effect

of the alkali plains on a delicate baby under three months' old amid the discomforts of a public car, I had almost determined to send my wife and children back to England, with a view to their going by the P. and O. *viâ* Australia, when it occurred to me to ask assistance from Mr. Pender, my wife's father, then in London. Four days after the despatch of the necessary telegram there reached us at Toronto, by way of reply, a message from the celebrated railway magnate, Mr. Jay Gould, telling us that his private car would be at our disposal to take us to San Francisco, that it would meet us at Detroit on the United States border, and would have a cook and all necessary provisions on board.

The relief thus afforded us was very great. I was therefore specially glad when, years afterwards, on my return from Hong Kong, I met Mr. Gould for the first time at Detroit, to hear from him that certain Pacific-island plants which I had sent him in recognition of his kindness had proved most acceptable from their extreme rarity, and were still flourishing at his residence on the Hudson. There were one or two, he said, for which he would not take a thousand dollars apiece.

We passed some days in Toronto under the hospitable roof of Government House, then in the occupation of Mr. John Beverley Robinson, the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, the son of my kind old friend Chief Justice Sir John Robinson. While there I was gratified by meeting once again many friends whom I had known seventeen years before. Toronto had indeed changed—grown almost out of recollection, and now well deserved the title of "city," which is sometimes assumed in America by places which have not gone beyond, sometimes have not even reached, the village stage.[1]

[1] In the Western States I had seen "cities" which were composed of little more than one or two drinking saloons and a post office. In one of the latter there was in my time posted up a notice as follows:—"We only sell stamps here; you must lick and stick yourselves."

At Detroit we found Mr. Gould's car waiting for us, and in every way as comfortable as prevision could make it; but we had nevertheless a trying experience. On crossing the alkali plains, though the windows were closed and seemed to fit tightly, the fine dust invaded us in quantity. To the older members of the party this was merely disagreeable; to the children it proved dangerous. Their lungs were so affected that they became very ill, and during a long, painful night in crossing the Sierra Nevada it seemed scarcely possible to hope that we should reach San Francisco with both of them alive. My wife, still in weak health herself, had twenty-four hours of intense anxiety; but thanks to her unremitting care and a wonderful faculty of resource in illness, both children were surviving and quickly got better as we entered the warm plains of California; indeed, when we arrived at 'Frisco they were comparatively well. The baby never, however, entirely recovered from the effects of this severe ordeal, and his life came to an end only a few weeks afterwards.

Our voyage to Auckland, on the American steamer *City of Sydney*, was much the same as that which we had previously made over the same route two years before. We went ashore at Honolulu, and on returning to the ship we found that Her Majesty Queen Emma had been on board; she had caused our cabins to be filled with garlands of flowers, a courtesy which the immediate departure of the ship prevented us from acknowledging at the time.

On the lower decks of the fore part of the vessel were confined the numerous animals of a travelling menagerie, which was being carried by a circus company to New Zealand. The neighbourhood of these creatures, especially in the calm of the Doldrums, was scarcely pleasant, though one family on board seemed to prefer it to the society of their fellow-passengers. The elephants, however, afforded much amusement to our small boy in what he called "fishing" for them. He would lower from the upper deck with string an orange or apple or some other tempting

morsel, when predacious trunks would be thrust out of two neighbouring ports and compete for the bait, this being sometimes secured (as in real fishing) with the line in addition.

Travelling with the circus company were two dwarfs, who called themselves Count Rosebud and Baron Littlefinger. One of them whistled beautifully, and both interested and amused us when they stood on a bench to converse. Some seventeen years afterwards, entering the Exhibition at Earl's Court, these very dwarfs recognised us, and gave us both an effusive greeting. As we responded, and talked to them, we became the centre of a curious throng, which was rapidly becoming disagreeable, when the little people were happily obliged to go off to their duty. As my size was no doubt exaggerated by contrast, some of our party suggested that as they were undoubtedly the dwarfs, possibly I had been mistaken for the giant of the show!

At Auckland, after a day passed at an hotel, the New Zealand Ministry kindly gave us the use of the Government House, whither we at once moved. There we remained nearly a month awaiting the arrival of Sir Arthur Gordon, who had delayed his departure from Fiji. The roads about Auckland were magnificent, and the public works generally were on a scale indicating an expenditure disproportionate to such trade and manufacture as was apparent. It was told me, by way of explanation, that parties in the Legislature being very equally divided, the Auckland members had for some years controlled the balance of power, and so had obtained for their constituency a very large share of the English loans raised by the colony. But whatever the cause, the effect was to render still more attractive the natural advantages of the place and its surroundings.

In driving out from the town, one could not but be struck by the English aspect of the surroundings. Birds of various kinds had evidently been imported from England, and had found the climate very congenial to them. As an instance,

skylarks were visible in great numbers, and I remember counting over thirty in the sky at the same moment, whereas in England it is, I think, seldom that more than three or four are seen at once. As regards vegetation, English gorse and broom abounded to such an extent that their masses of yellow flowers attracted the eye in all directions.

On inquiry into the subject of acclimatisation, I was told that all English life seemed to be specially vigorous in New Zealand, from that of man to the humblest animals and plants. This flourishing condition, moreover, is at the expense of native life, so that just as the European has largely supplanted the Maori, English rats, insects (especially certain noxious ones), plants and grasses have superseded the native varieties. Whether English rabbits found the ground occupied by any native rodents of similar habits I do not know, but how enormously and how perniciously they have multiplied is matter of notoriety. I was told, moreover, that English watercress had flourished to such an extent as to have become a nuisance, and was actually causing obstruction in some of the rivers. No doubt all this is merely the "survival of the fittest"; but why should that emanating from England be so specially fit? May we find an explanation in this that England having been for ages part of a great continent, and since its division from it by the channel having for many centuries past been the home of a maritime nation, the varieties of animals and plants surviving here, collected from all countries, are on that account the strongest of their kind in the world? Perhaps when these come in contact with varieties which represent only the strongest of a comparatively narrow area such as New Zealand, which until quite recently had had little or no communication with the outside world, the latter are unable to maintain the unequal struggle, and hence their disappearance. A similar cause perhaps partially accounts for the dying out before the white man of native races, which have been long isolated in narrow areas. The European, by his skill in navigation, has for centuries past been associ-

ated with the inhabitants of almost the whole universe, and has at one time or another imported all, or nearly all, of their diseases. The existing Europeans being therefore the descendants of ancestors who have survived, or at least partially withstood, all these diseases, have become considerably inured to them. When, however, they come in contact with races which have been long isolated, such as the Tasmanians, the Maoris, and Fijians, a disease such as measles, which has become comparatively harmless to themselves, on finding what may be termed "virgin soil," flourishes in it exceedingly, and becomes dangerously destructive. Of course this is not the only reason for "native" depopulation, but there can, I think, be no doubt that it is one, and a potent one. For how else can be accounted for the destruction of 40,000 Fijians, or nearly a fourth of the whole population, by a disease which scarcely affected at all the Europeans resident in the same islands?

Of this comparative strength of varieties of life coming from England, I remember a curious instance in the West Indies. Some forty years ago, when English troops were quartered at Gros Islet, a little island divided from St. Lucia by a very narrow channel, some seeds were dropped from the hay sent from England, I suppose for the officers' horses. These at once sprang up, and though it would be thought that English grass would not find the tropical climate congenial, it nevertheless flourished exceedingly, and when I left the colony was spreading all over the island and extruding the native grasses. Its character had, however, been completely altered in this respect, that the tropical sun had apparently dried all nourishment out of it, and so, useless for fodder, it was simply a nuisance.

Our four weeks at Auckland were saddened by the illness of our infant son, which ended in his death. He had never recovered completely from the ordeal of the alkali dust, and had caused anxiety during the whole voyage. Soon after landing he caught cold, which attacked the lungs. After

being very ill, he seemed to improve, and we had much hope that he would recover, when suddenly there supervened symptoms indicative of blood-poisoning, and after terrible suffering his short and troubled life came to an end. The drains in the house were in a highly unsatisfactory condition, and if report speaks true, caused trouble and danger years afterwards. It is certain that an atmosphere so poisoned would retard, if not prevent, recovery.

During our stay at Auckland, Sir John Hall, the New Zealand Premier, and Mr. Whittaker, the Attorney-General, came to visit us, and we had the pleasure of receiving them at dinner. I liked the former very much, and the latter, whom I afterwards met frequently at the Australasian Convention of 1883, was an interesting and exceedingly able man.

When Sir Arthur Gordon at length arrived, the landing of the new Governor was made a great event. The Auckland people, to do him honour, had hired four of the piebald circus horses, which had come with us from San Francisco, to convey him to Government House. As the carriage drove up to the door and a band began to play, we were much amused by the endeavour of one horse to walk on his hind legs, in the evident belief that his usual performance was expected of him.

When Sir Arthur saw my commission as full Governor, of which he had previously no knowledge, he was naturally much annoyed, as it was inconsistent with the position which he believed to have been granted to him and had publicly described on leaving Fiji. At first it seemed likely he would send in his resignation, but after discussion he determined ultimately to make trial of such *modus vivendi* as the circumstances permitted. For reasons already given, I could not accept any control over my action, but I was ready to receive with the utmost deference any advice which he might offer privately, and to keep him *au courant* with all my doings of importance, besides obtaining his opinion about land claims, in which he took special interest.

An "arrangement" was finally arrived at under these conditions, which included an undertaking on my part that all my despatches on native affairs addressed to the Secretary of State should go to him "under flying seal." Throughout our discussions on this subject, Sir Arthur's attitude in a very awkward situation was most conciliatory, and I attribute largely to this that when, after a few days' stay, he left for the seat of his government at Wellington, we had had no serious difference on any point.

After Sir Arthur's departure, our own was delayed some days for means of conveyance. The captain of the ship-of-war, which the Commodore had intended to convey us thither, misunderstood the discretion which had been given him, and decided to proceed elsewhere. With great difficulty I induced the New Zealand Steam Navigation Company, for a consideration of £200, to employ one of its steamers, the *Albion*, for the purpose of taking us to our destination. There were only one or two other passengers, and as the ship, like all those of this company, was exceedingly clean, we had a comfortable voyage, and arrived at Levuka in four days. Before reaching the southernmost island of Fiji, a fog had prevented observations, and we entered the group by dead reckoning alone. As currents in those seas are very strong, it was impossible to be at all sure as to our exact position, and we were consequently made somewhat anxious when we observed how little attention the captain appeared to be paying to the ship's course. Though we liked him much, we should have preferred that he did not sit talking to us in hazy weather after dark, when we knew that there must be coral-reefed islands in all directions around us. Suddenly our fears were justified by a cry of "Breakers ahead!" We were running straight on to a reef, and the warning was only just in time.

Our danger on this occasion was brought the more home to us when we read, only a few weeks afterwards, that this very captain had run his ship ashore on the coast of New

Zealand, causing the loss of, I think, over two hundred lives, including his own!

We were received by the people of the colony with much warmth. But I felt sure that, while credit may have been duly given to me on some points, such of my doings as had been disliked by the white population had been ascribed to my loyalty to Sir Arthur Gordon. I knew only too well that this illusion would be quickly dispelled, and that disappointment would render the greater the consequent unpopularity. Indeed, in writing at the time, I said, knowing what was before me, that whatever efforts I might make in a contrary direction, Sir Arthur's administration would probably come to be compared with mine as Solomon's whips to Rehoboam's scorpions. My anticipation proved only too true.

CHAPTER VII

Difficult relations with Sir Arthur Gordon—Straitened finances—Home Government refuse further aid—Dearth of officers—Removal of seat of government to Suva; my objections to it—Rotumah; my view as to its annexation—Mr. Charles Mitchell appointed Commissioner; voyage thither—Ceremony of hoisting British flag—Rotuman dances—Great native festival—Visit Lakemba for Maafu's funeral—Arrangements for government of Rotumah.

THE arrangement made in Auckland, though the best practicable under the circumstances, did not prove satisfactory to either side. The private correspondence, upon which Sir Arthur Gordon and I had agreed, could hardly do otherwise than cause irritation. For though we were in full accord about the native policy, it was impossible to avoid touching upon other matters more or less connected with it, about which we were by no means in agreement, and his view of which had, I considered, unnecessarily increased my difficulties.

With very slight advantage from this correspondence, it proved to be a very serious addition to my burthen of labour. Though in the course of the eighteen months in which it was carried on my letters occupy, I find, some sixty foolscap pages of manuscript (many pages being much abbreviated), and though I loyally endeavoured to give all necessary information, I do not doubt that Sir Arthur had just ground for the complaint that this was on some points wanting or insufficient. The omissions were certainly unintentional, but under the circumstances were, to say the least, excusable. On the other hand, I was put to inconvenience and subjected to sinister suspicion, when papers which land claimants desired to inspect were found to be with the Governor of New Zealand.

Again, Sir Arthur's interest in land claims caused him to obtain the appointment of senior member of my Executive Council, and he on two occasions assisted as such in their adjudication, coming from New Zealand specially for the purpose. However valuable his assistance, this anomalous and unprecedented position could not be otherwise than embarrassing to me. It tended to confirm the false notion which other circumstances had already created, that I had been deceiving the public in posing as a Governor with full powers, when the strings of administration were really being pulled from New Zealand—an idea not calculated to increase my prestige or strengthen my authority.

The situation thus created was not, it may be imagined, rendered less awkward by an unfortunate circumstance which occurred on the first occasion of Sir Arthur's arrival from New Zealand. Owing to the prevalence of scarlet fever in Auckland, I felt obliged to place in quarantine the ship-of-war which carried him, and to postpone the meeting of Council until after the lapse of some days the vessel received *pratique*. And I may mention that this course was taken on the urgent recommendation of Dr. MacGregor, who, owing to a warm regard for his old chief, would have been the last to put him to unnecessary inconvenience.

On the whole, I am satisfied that this connection between Sir Arthur Gordon and myself was not of advantage to the colony; but whether it was useful or not, calm reflection has confirmed the opinion formed at the time that such a relation ought never to have been created. Lord Kimberley's letters led me to think that he himself had doubts on this point, and strengthened my impression that he consented to permit it only under pressure, the matter being considered of too little importance to justify resistance. His predecessor, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, as was observable from a question put by him in the House of Commons, evidently appreciated its inexpediency. For altogether the position was such as to be not inaptly described by an English friend as one in which two archangels might be

expected to disagree; and though our relations, as may be supposed, became somewhat strained, I venture to think it is to the credit of two ordinary mortals that this *éloignement* never resulted in open rupture.

When Sir Arthur left Australasia in 1882, his responsibility in connection with Fiji came to an end; and I leave the subject with an expression of sincere regret that circumstances should have placed me in temporary antagonism with one to whom I owe much, and who I shall always regard as the best Crown Governor of my time.

From the very outset of my second tenure of office in Fiji, and during the whole of it, finance was the cause of continual difficulty. Before my arrival the £100,000 advanced by the Imperial Government had been nearly exhausted, and indeed, considering the conditions, it was wonderful that Sir Arthur Gordon had made it last so long. On the other hand, though the revenue was increasing by about £4,000 a year on the average, new charges at the time of my return required to be met from it of more than three times that amount, the principal of which was one of £8,250 for interest and sinking fund of the loan of £150,000, recently sanctioned for paying the debt (£105,000) of the former Fijian Government and for defraying the cost of the removal of the seat of Government of Suva. New taxation was out of the question, the white population being for the most part in a very parlous condition, and the natives having already had laid upon them a burthen as heavy as they could bear. Thus, outside help being beyond expectation, I had to face, as the only alternative, the disagreeable task of retrenchment; and this though the public service was already seriously undermanned, though the officers actually serving were bitterly complaining of the inadequacy of their salaries to meet the heavy cost of living, and demands were continually being made from many quarters in respect of objects, which though obviously advantageous, would take time to repay their cost.

Though we managed always, even in the first year, to "make ends meet," it was only at the cost of anxiety and worries, the extent of which cannot be conveyed here. But immediate consequences, however personally annoying, were of comparatively little moment as compared with the fatal effect upon the prospects of the colony which I foresaw as the result of our dearth of officers.[1]

There had already begun to dawn upon me that of which I afterwards became convinced, viz. that for economical reasons, given elsewhere in detail,[2] immigration of other coloured races could never be sufficient to produce anything beyond a puny prosperity, and that the only chance for the colony of a future worth consideration lay in the preservation of the natives.

Such preservation, in any case a matter of great difficulty, seemed under existing conditions to be impossible. During Sir Arthur Gordon's tenure of office, and in the first three years of my second administration, there was, indeed, a very slight excess of births over deaths; but it was evident that the first inroad of epidemic disease would cost the loss of all, and much more than all, of the small increase of population thus gained. To afford any reasonable expectation of averting a misfortune of this kind, it was clear that more European officers were required. The mortality of infants was enormous, and considering the manner in which they were reared, it is a wonder that any

[1] What was the inadequacy of our staff of officers, especially in view of the fact that the natives were being governed without any force from outside, may be gathered from the fact that there was frequently no European officer in the large island of Kandavu, that there never was one in the Yasava group at the western extremity of the colony, and that in the whole of the Lau islands at its eastern extremity—islands which extended over a space of sea almost equal to that occupied by the lesser Caribbees—there was, in so far as I recollect, only one.

[2] These reasons, which apply to other tropical countries besides Fiji, may be gathered from my paper written for the Australasian Convention of 1883, referred to below, and also from an article of mine, "Delusions about Tropical Agriculture," published in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1895.

survived.[1] A staff of doctors would have largely reduced this heavy death-rate, and would have saved many other lives, not only by direct treatment, but by teaching the value and methods of sanitation. European assistance would also have had an immediate economical value by teaching the natives to use their labour to better advantage, and thus enabling them to contribute much more largely to the wealth of the colony.

Impressed with these needs, and feeling convinced that their immediate supply by a temporary provision would in no long time more than repay its cost, within two months of my return to Fiji I laid before the Secretary of State a plan by which the colony would obtain the required assistance without any appreciable risk to the Imperial Treasury. I proposed that the loan of £150,000 above referred to, should be increased to £250,000 and guaranteed by Great Britain. By this means we should have an additional £100,000 at disposal, while the burthen on the colony for interest would be no greater than it would be in respect of the smaller amount raised solely on the colony's credit.

My proposal was rejected, and I am of opinion that an irremediable injury was thereby done to the colony. Had it been adopted, I have little doubt that by 1884 we should have been in a position largely to obviate the ill effects of the whooping-cough, which in that year destroyed a great number of lives; while the natives would by that time have been able by better-superintended agriculture to supply the gap in the revenue which, after my departure from the colony, was caused by the general failure of the planters.

When I compare the extremely penurious policy applied

[1] This mortality I have little doubt was greatly increased by the abandonment of polygamy. Before this a mother was wont to nourish her infant for three or more years, and to bear children with any shorter interval between them was considered as a disgrace. But at this time the interval was often only a year or less, the weaned infant being at once fed on yams before it was capable of assimilating such food, and the deaths in consequence were many.

to Fiji, which rendered the heavy labour and anxieties imposed upon its early Governors to a large extent unavailing, with the extravagant expenditure upon Uganda—a possession which is never likely to repay anything more than an infinitesimal fraction of the millions which it has cost—a certain bitterness of feeling is, I venture to think, excusable.

During 1881 and 1882 much time which might, I thought, have been much better employed, was occupied with the removal of the seat of government to Suva. During my previous administration I had disapproved of this projected change; but it was not the part of a *locum tenens* to advance his views on such a point in opposition to the permanent Governor. Being now in a different position, I would have gladly reversed the policy of removal, as I was much pressed to do by the greater portion of the white community. But steps had been taken before my return which rendered this impossible. I fully recognised that Suva, with its fine harbour and the abundant space available for building, was naturally a better site for the capital than Levuka, and that it might some day become necessary to remove thither. But for reasons afterwards given in the paper written for the Australasian Convention of 1883 with reference to the Pacific islands generally, I did not think that the removal ought to come about at least for some years. Meanwhile I considered that Levuka would serve sufficiently well. The heavy expense involved in removal to a place without a single building fit for public purposes, and without wharves, streets, water-works, etc., seemed then needless, there being far more urgent wants for which the money was needed. However, the die was cast. The removal had been officially announced, and land had in consequence been sold by the Government and others at a far higher price than it would have otherwise realised; so that after full consideration of the question, I was reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the necessary compensation to purchasers and others with whom agreements had been made, together with the sums

required for providing a court-house and other grievously required accommodation in Levuka, would on the whole cost more than removal.

This removal would ordinarily have been comparatively easy, but with our limited resources of men and money was very difficult. The staff of the Works Department was barely sufficient for its ordinary duties, and its head, to whom it fell to design all the new buildings required, had no pretensions as an architect. Moreover, as the supply of skilled workmen was very scanty, the process must be a slow one. It was, in fact, a year and a half before it was effected. Meanwhile, the Immigration Office having been moved to Suva before my arrival, I suffered the extreme inconvenience of having one of the principal departments of Government separated from me by a distance of sixty miles, with irregular and uncertain communication between. Moreover, it soon became evident that even with makeshift buildings and the utmost economy the money provided for the cost of removal would be insufficient. And so I was obliged, after much worry, to arrange with a local bank for an additional loan of £15,000.

Even with this assistance the new capital was far from being in a condition to deserve such a name. I was never in a position, while I remained in the colony, to drain the swampy ground in the neighbourhood of the new Government House; and as a consequence the whole of my family, including myself, fell into such serious ill-health as to cause our departure from the colony two years before the conclusion of my regular term of office, and to render it improbable that we should all reach home alive, as in fact one of us unhappily did not. That we did not succumb prematurely may be gathered from the fact that within two and a half years after our return to Fiji the health of three members of my personal staff, all of them young, completely broke down, and compelled their departure from the colony. What occurred to so many of those who arrived in Fiji with Sir Arthur Gordon, as

recorded in Miss Gordon Cumming's book, shows that in this matter of health my family and staff were not peculiarly unfortunate.

I have already referred to the question of Rotumah. During my absence in England Her Majesty had accepted the official cession; but as it had not been formally annexed it now became my duty to proceed thither for that purpose. I had disagreed with Sir Arthur Gordon in the opinion that a solitary island, distant some 200 miles from the nearest portion of Fiji (500 miles from the capital by the nearest practicable route), and inhabited by a people totally distinct from the Fijians in race, language, and social organisation, was naturally a part of the Fiji group. I differed with him also in the opinion that its annexation would be in any way an advantage to Fiji, foreseeing that, at least for some years, its administration, coupled with the expenses of communication, would cost more than could be possibly raised in revenue; while the two or three officers required to be employed there, who, competent in other respects, ought to have some experience of native government, would reduce the already very insufficient supply of such officers in Fiji—a consideration of even greater importance when the disallowance by the home Government of my cadet scheme[1] had rendered improvement in this respect for the time hopeless.

I fully agreed that annexation would be for the benefit of Rotumah as putting an end to religious warfare there, and also that the island would be a useful addition to the empire, as precluding its acquisition by a foreign power. I also thought it probable that after a time the revenue might be made to pay for its administration; but I was unable to see why Fiji should be made to bear the cost in the first instance and to take the risk of what after all was little

[1] This scheme was one for attracting educated young Englishmen to be trained for public appointments in the colony. Presumably owing to Treasury interference, a measure of very obvious necessity was not sanctioned until two years afterwards, and even then only to an extent which provided very insufficiently for the serious dearth of officers.

else than a philanthropic experiment. This question was, however, decided against my view. The burthen was cast entirely upon Fiji, and the High Commission (Imperial) funds were even relieved of the cost, which had been incurred up to this time, of supplying the salary of a resident Commissioner.

In the preliminary arrangements for administration an unforeseen difficulty met me at the outset. It was impossible to make Rotumah a port of entry without stationing a medical man there, or it would become a dangerous avenue for the introduction of infectious diseases into Fiji. But our medical staff was already inadequate, and as no provision for a doctor's salary had been made in the estimate of Rotumah expenditure, I was reluctantly compelled to do without a port of entry there and to require all vessels going thither to come to Fiji in the first instance.[1]

As only one, or, at the most, two white officers could be afforded for the island, it was desirable that the first resident Commissioner should be a man of some local experience. For this office I selected Mr. Charles Mitchell, who, while fulfilling this condition, happened to be, in my opinion, the least useful to Fiji of all its higher officials. My position with reference to this gentleman was peculiarly delicate. He had been one of the Royal Commissioners in Guiana, whose report had, as before mentioned, passed censure upon my action there some twelve years previously. By the irony of fate I found him to be one of my subordinate officials in Fiji, as Commissioner for Lands and Immigration. He had held this office during my first administration, and was still occupying the position on my return to the colony. Though he had traits of character deserving of respect, I had not found him a satisfactory officer in Fiji; yet I hesitated, because of our former relations, to give it expression, and

[1] This measure may have slightly affected the volume of trade, but any possible deficiency in revenue thus caused—so insignificant was the budget of this small dependency—must have been less than the salary of a competent medical officer.

I now took the first opportunity of transferring him to another sphere of duty, where his defects would be of less importance and his good qualities have more chance of display.

Under these circumstances I persuaded Mr. Mitchell to go to Rotumah as its first Commissioner, the inducements being that he would be very much his own master, and that the position, if its duties were satisfactorily discharged, was much more likely than his office in Fiji to bring promotion to a better appointment in a colony nearer home.

And so it happened that on proceeding to Rotumah for the purpose of formal annexation, as afterwards described, I carried with me Mr. Mitchell, and left him on the island at my departure, giving him carefully drawn instructions, which, as I heard many years afterwards, were still in force.

Early in May, 1880, all preliminary arrangements having been made, there arrived in Levuka harbour H.M.S. *Miranda* (Captain the Hon. Edward Dawson), sent by the Commodore to convey me to Rotumah.

The direct route to Rotumah, round the western side of Vanua Levu, was one which could be then taken only by very small vessels. The reefs are numerous and dangerous, and if there be a safe channel through them, it had not then been surveyed. Accordingly we went out of the Fiji group, through the Lau archipelago, which made the voyage one of over five hundred miles. Thus, though we embarked on the 9th of May, it was not until daybreak of the 12th that we came in sight of Rotumah. The *Miranda* anchored outside the barrier reef, opposite a narrow neck of land on the west of the island, on which stands the "native" town of Motusa. A gun was fired, and soon parties of natives were seen collecting on the beach. Presently a boat put off, which with some difficulty, the tide being low, made its way to the ship through a narrow opening in the reef. On it was a messenger sent by Albert, the chief of Motusa (one of the divisions of the island), to direct the course of the ship's boats to the shore. All preparations had been

made for the ceremony of the morrow. During the afternoon Albert and some of the other native chiefs appeared, and were duly presented. They seemed to be much on a level in intelligence with the coast chiefs of Fiji, though having a better knowledge of the outside world, derived from many of their people who had returned from voyages. Contact with a low class of white men from Pacific schooners had, however, imparted to them a tinge of vulgarity, of which Fijian chiefs rarely showed a trace.

After a night passed comfortably upon Rotuman mats, which as being woven with special care are much prized, in the afternoon of the next day we proceeded to an open space near the chief's house to take part in the ceremony which was the object of my visit. The path to the ground had been covered by the natives with mats ; and on arrival there we found a guard of honour, furnished by marines, drawn up by a flagstaff which had been erected in the centre. I thereupon read aloud the Royal Proclamation annexing the island to the British Dominions, upon which the Union Jack was hoisted on the staff, the marines presented arms, and a royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the *Miranda.* After this I delivered a practical address to the assembled chiefs on the duties which accompany the privileges of British subjects, and at its close introduced Mr. Mitchell to them and administered the oath of office to him as Government Agent and Resident Commissioner.

To improve the occasion Captain Dawson ordered the marines to go through the bayonet exercise, which the natives doubtless took for an English ceremonial meke, and was received with shouts of delight.

In the evening there took place in the magistrate's house a native meke, which we witnessed seated on mats at the end of a large room. A band of young men, grotesquely dressed, their hair adorned with gaudy feathers and hibiscus flowers, entered the room, swaying to and fro, in slow measure. As they moved they gave vent to a low, melancholy chant to an accompaniment of drumming, and groaning deeply at the

end of each verse, they simultaneously clapped the palms of their right hands upon the hollow of the left arm inside the elbow. Truly ideas of gaiety vary in this world; for the performance so far, though intended to be festive, seemed to us indicative rather of intense sadness. But by degrees things became more lively; the motions of the dancers quickened, especially when other singers with unmistakably female voices were heard approaching. On the entry of these, the chief beauty performed a *pas seul* in the middle of the room, rhythmically swaying rather than dancing. Then her companions joined her, and finally the young men; all together beginning slowly and sadly, getting gradually by degrees livelier, and finally becoming actually boisterous. When the excitement of this romp appeared likely to lead to still greater extremes, we deemed it prudent to take our departure.

The next day a grand native dance and feast was held in our honour at a neighbouring village. In proceeding thither, in accordance with native wishes, I walked at the head of the procession, a chief's daughter on either side of me waving a large fan for the purpose of protection from flies. Our party, including Captain Dawson and various officers of the *Miranda*, together with all the native chiefs, followed. A short walk of some five hundred yards brought us to the place appointed for the entertainment. Here we found a large sandy space, overshadowed by magnificent ndilo trees, at one end of which a temporary shed had been erected, carpeted with mats, intended for our party to squat upon. Judging from the number of people present, it would seem that the whole population had collected to witness or take part in the proceedings.

For the first half-hour after we had taken our seats bands of men were continually arriving, bearing roast pigs neatly packed in baskets of plantain leaves, as well as yams and bunches of the root *piper methysticus*, from which kava (identical with the Fijian yagona) is made. As each party laid down its burthens in front of me, the people assembled

raised a loud shout of approval. What followed I take with slight alteration and additions from the account which appeared subsequently in a Melbourne newspaper, written by my private secretary, Josceline Amherst.

These contributions for the feast having come to an end, a shout was heard in the distance, and amid the tropical vegetation which shut in the end of the plain dusky figures appeared flitting hither and thither, while the gleam of muskets and spears flashed in the sun. A body of warriors about fifty strong was seen approaching, each wearing a conspicuous head-dress made of bright-coloured feathers and gaudy wool, or bits of cloth neatly worked with cane into a coronet a foot and a half in height. Their faces were daubed with vermilion, their bodies for the most part tattooed in various patterns, one man especially having so elaborated his body from his hips downwards that he appeared to be clothed in dark blue breeches woven in an intricate pattern of checks and stripes. Their clothing consisted of brightly coloured strips of tappa, long wisps of fibre, made from the wild vine and dyed black, being tied round their waist and legs. Each warrior was armed with a club, a musket, a spear, and an axe, and the band approached in close order to the edge of the sandy arena, chanting a monotonous war song, to which they kept time as they marched. Suddenly the song stopped; two warriors with splendid head-dresses, their faces ghastly with vermilion and black stripes, and fully armed, burst from the centre of the band, one rushing to the right, the other to the left, and with furious gesticulations went through a mimic encounter with an imaginary foe, now rushing madly forward, now retreating, each brandishing his weapon, while the advancing band of warriors encouraged their champions with howls of ecstasy and applause. When the centre of the arena was reached, the whole body rushed forward and went through a performance similar to that of the first two, each man striving to outdo the other in the contortions of his face and limbs and the wild movements of his weapon. Finally a

song of victory was raised, and the chief warriors rushed forward with even more furious gesticulations and still more diabolical contortions, till, at the very edge of the mat upon which the Governor sat, they suddenly stopped, and gracefully removing their feather crowns, placed them at his feet. One man with a huge rock in his hand acted his part so vividly that more than one of the spectators shrank back, expecting it to fly from his hand. But it was all acting, and peacefully kneeling, he also deposited his feather crown.

Several other bands successively went through a similar performance, and in one instance the imitation of savage onslaught with a club was so realistic as to cause one of the officers of the *Miranda* to start forward in my defence. The huge weapon, indeed, passed so near my head that though I fortunately restrained myself from flinching, it required all my resolution. I was told afterwards that, had I visibly moved, native respect would have sensibly diminished. When the five tribes of the island had each performed its part and the heap of crowns at my feet was complete, the war dance ceased, and there followed a peaceful performance, which to the initiated seemed much like that of the night before, but in reality, we were told, was one of the oldest known in the island, and only produced on great occasions. As usual, I was struck with the melancholy nature of the "music" contrasted with the lively measure performed by bodies and feet.

At the end of the function came the feast, inaugurated by joyful shouts of "Kava! Kava!" Pieces of cooked pig, yam, and other vegetables were handed round upon banana leaves, in the first instance to us and then to all the people present, while an old woman kneaded the kava root, previously prepared by mastication, in a huge bowl immediately in front of me. After I had made a show of partaking of both the meat and drink offered to me, the afternoon was far advanced, so that it was necessary to leave the festive scene in order to get on board and clear of the reefs before dark. As I was about to leave I was

much amused in observing that one of our party, overcome by the heat, had quietly fallen asleep after depositing his head upon the knee of one of the young ladies who, seated at my back on either side, had been assiduously fanning me throughout the performance.

The chiefs in a body accompanied us to the boats, and we said "Good-bye" to them with an expression of genuine regret that our visit had necessarily been so short. Albert (whose guests we had been) with his family accompanied us to the ship in his own boat, and their handkerchiefs were waving adieu almost as long as the island itself remained visible.

On our way back to Levuka the *Miranda* came to anchor at Lakemba, in the island of Vanua Balavu, where I had meant to attend the funeral of Maafu, whose death had, to my sincere regret, occurred some weeks previously. But what with the heat of Rotumah and sea-sickness afterwards, I was not at all in a condition to take a fitting part in the ceremony, and so gave up the idea. As the best to be done under the circumstances, I sent Herbert ashore to represent me. Wilkinson, the Native Commissioner, accompanied him, and made on my behalf the speech expected on the occasion. During the ceremony the *Miranda* fired minute guns in honour of the dead chief, whose loss was a serious one, not only to his people, but to the administration of the whole colony, as to which his advice was always valuable.

On my return to Fiji I at once set about making permanent arrangements for the future administration of the new possession. Though the number of the population concerned was so small, being under 2,500, these arrangements caused very disproportionate difficulties, and occupied time which could be ill spared. For the conditions to be dealt with, being totally different from those of the principal colony, would have required distinct provisions for government, even if the island had been situated in the centre of the Fiji group, while the distance and difficulty of

communication accentuated this necessity. In contrast with Fijian customs, land in Rotumah was held individually and not collectively, while women owned land on their own account, and not in trust for others. Moreover, a chief in Rotumah was little more than *primus inter pares*, and had neither the power nor the influence possessed by the heads of the principal families of Fiji. On account of such differences many of the Fiji native regulations and some of the ordinances were unsuitable, so that the new possession had to be excluded from their effect. Also to save expense it was necessary to exclude Rotumah from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and to make the Commissioner the chief judicial as well as executive authority, sentences in capital cases being reserved for consideration by the Governor in Fiji. The Chief Justice made energetic protest against this latter decision, at which I arrived not without much reluctance; but it was confirmed by the Secretary of State, as also were all the arrangements for legislation and administration.

Without entering into detail about these arrangements, I am able to say that they satisfactorily answered their purpose, as during the four subsequent years of my tenure of office in Fiji, Rotumah remained at peace, and there was a remarkable absence of complaint. But owing to the long periods (in the hurricane season sometimes extending to four or five months) during which I was without communication from the island, I was not infrequently anxious about the state of affairs, in view of the fact that there were there only two white officers living under conditions peculiarly unfavourable to health. Mr. Mitchell, after a year's residence,[1] was compelled to ask for leave of absence, owing to an attack of elephantiasis, remaining, however, conscientiously at his post until that leave was obtained.

[1] Having made a favourable report of this officer's conduct of Rotumah affairs, I was specially glad to hear that, having recovered his health in England, he had obtained, as I anticipated, a better appointment in another colony.

Rotumah, in the first years after annexation, proved to be a burthen to Fiji even heavier than I had anticipated. For, chiefly on account of the cost of communication, not only was the expenditure larger than the estimate made as the inducement to the cession, but owing to a serious fall in the value of copra, the principal export of the island, the revenne equally disappointed expectation; indeed, in the first year, as I observe from my notes, it fell short of the estimate by more than one-third. If the time of the Governor and other officials which was diverted from the affairs of Fiji had been taken into account, and a proportionate amount of their salaries debited to Rotumah, the deficit in its budget would have been considerably greater.

CHAPTER VIII

Increasing difficulty of native government—Penalty inflicted upon Thakombau's eldest son ; apprehensions thereby caused—Attend great native meeting at Ba ; description of occurrences there—Disturbance in Vanua Levu ; measures taken in consequence, and their success—Discretion and firmness in young officer.

THE government of the natives, carried on for the most part through native chiefs, continued to require close, even closer supervision. The older chiefs were dying out, while the survivors were more tempted to commit injustice, as they came fully to appreciate the fact that the British Government protected them from the avenging club, the former cure for extreme misdoing. I was again obliged to punish several Rokos by loss of office, restriction of their movements, etc., for acts impossible to pass over without lowering the prestige of the Government.

Dealing with these cases involved anxiety, owing to the difficulty of finding chiefs of sufficient age, ability, and influence by birth to take the vacant places, and sometimes we had reason to fear dangerous intrigues on the part, or in favour, of the deposed officers.

This anxiety was specially great when, early in 1882, I found it necessary to punish Ratu Epeli, the eldest son of Thakombau, and next to him the most influential chief of the colony, by taking from him two of the three provinces of which he had been Roko, and leaving to him the third only on probation. Many of the white population had fears, to which expression was given in the local press, that a native rising would result from my action in this case ; and I do not doubt that if Thakombau had proved otherwise than loyal, there would have been serious trouble.

Personally, I had no great apprehension on this score, and a letter received from Thakombau himself removed any lingering doubts about his attitude. With remarkable considerateness, he hastened to accord full approval of the punishment of his son, at the same time expressing astonishment he had been so leniently dealt with. This was by no means the only occasion on which this loyal old ex-cannibal chief afforded me valuable support.

In the course of the next three years I attended three more "Bose vaka Turaga" (meetings of high chiefs), such as that which took place at Bua, described in a former chapter. One of these was at Loma Loma, in the eastern or Lau group of islands, and took place, immediately before his death, under the superintendence of Maafu. Another was at Ba, in the west of the island of Viti Levu, and the third in the province of Macuata, on the north-west coast of the island of Vanua Levu, all these places being at a distance of about a hundred miles from Levuka in different directions.

As a ship-of-war, which usually carried me to these gatherings, was not available on one of the two occasions when I went to the Ba meeting, I had to charter a steamer, and was thus enabled to take some of my family with me to witness a spectacle unlike anything to be seen elsewhere, and such as will now never be seen again.

"Life here is ordinarily so monotonous," wrote my wife at the time, "that my attempt to mention what has occurred must, I fear, often seem to you to be only a tedious repetition. But I have now to describe an unusual event—our expedition to the province of Ba, where William had to close the annual chiefs' meeting.

"A man-of-war not being available this time, William made arrangements with the New Zealand steamer to carry him during her unemployed week—usually passed in this harbour—thus saving several days of the time which would have been occupied in the passage by any other available means of conveyance—a matter of special conse-

quence at this time of year, when estimates have to be prepared, councils held, etc., etc.—and also enabling him to take us with him.

"The steamer kept within the reef, winding her way through some exceedingly narrow passages; and so we were able to enjoy ourselves, being certain of smooth water, and having the island of Viti Levu to look at from close to shore. For some miles the country was mountainous, but has very little suggestion of the tropics, a great fire having rendered it bare of all green vegetation except a few patches of grassy scrub. Suddenly the mountains ceased altogether, and we had entirely different scenery of low, round-topped hills, by no means picturesque; and I was glad when we came to the Ba country, which, though flat for some distance inland, has a background of wild mountains with sharp peaks. These, having generally a light mist hanging about them, had a look of weirdness which I much like.

"We anchored four miles off the land in shallow water, and the chief town of Ba lies four miles beyond this again up the Ba River, so that the row there and back, which we had to make daily, was a long one.

"The first night after getting in the rain poured down, and there was nothing for it but to remain quietly in the ship. We had books, however, and so managed to amuse ourselves in a comfortable deck cabin until bedtime. Below Harry was in the 'ladies' cabin,' and I had nearly as large a one next door. Everything looked beautifully clean, even the cruet-stands, which usually are a correct test of this condition in all else. This time, however, I was grievously disappointed, for in the night I was bitten again and again —not by mosquitoes. At last, getting not a wink of sleep, I could stand it no longer, and got up, wandering about till morning. Of course, the stewardess said that 'Never, no never had such a thing been seen on the ship before'; but having had ocular evidence that it was there now, I determined to sleep on deck for the future.

"The next day was gloriously fine, and we set out after breakfast in a large boat for the shore. It took us over two hours to row the eight miles, though we had ten pullers. There was a good awning over them, but the heat was so great that the work was hard for them nevertheless. The river is exceedingly pretty, its low banks covered with foliage, except for a cleared spot here and there, where one would see either a Fijian village or a small plantation belonging to a white settler. The width of the channel was seldom less than 500 feet, and but that this island can boast of two other rivers, each about 100 miles long, and very wide too, the Ba would not be thought so little of.

"On getting to the landing-place, we were received by the chief of the province (the one of whom I told you that he had been rewarded by a sword of honour for an act of extraordinary bravery in the last mountain war), besides several white officials and a great crowd of Fijians. Mats covered the path, over which they led us to a beautiful native house, where the chief's wife was waiting to receive me. She conducted us in, and it looked so beautifully clean, with lovely mats covering the entire floor. A tappa curtain was prettily draped at the end of the building, which comes down at night, dividing the raised sleeping-mats from what may be called the sitting-room. The chief with two of his servants, the lady with three of her girls, William's two native aide-de-camps, four other great chiefs who had followed us in to make their salutations, together with our own party, formed the group on the mats. For about an hour we all tried to talk—a painful operation, as far as I am concerned, for I know only enough of the language to ask for what I want or to give an order. I believe, however, Fijians think nothing of sitting in silence for hours together; so our efforts must have appeared to them as abundant conversation. They presented me with a magnificent turtle, a ceremony which, it seems, usually takes place when any great person gives up his or her house to an equally important stranger. They term this gift as

merely 'a weight to press down the mats,' delicacy forbidding the supposition that a guest of rank is in want of food. The poor turtle caused me great unhappiness, though, for he had to be left on his back at the door in the hot sun. Had I been a native, I should have sent him to the oven at once. But as it was, I had to see him, and still worse hear his sighs, till evening, when he was carried off to the steamer. Interference on my part would, I was told, give offence.

"At last it was suggested that I might like something to eat, and I thought it would be some relief to be doing something. So I suddenly developed a great appetite, and luncheon was sent for. The Fijians took the hint, and with the greatest tact asked for permission to leave, saying that they had much to attend to in connection with the ceremonies of the afternoon. So we enjoyed in quiet our luncheon, consisting of tinned duck, biscuits, tinned fruit and cheese, with pineapples, bananas, and coconuts. The water inside the latter, which is totally unlike the "milk" of the matured fruit, keeps extraordinarily cool inside the thick husk, and is most refreshing, though Dr. MacGregor tells me it is for Europeans not wholesome.

"Luncheon ended, I was left alone until the entertainment began, and having nothing else to do, I amused myself examining what a Fijian great lady's house was composed of. The floor had on it several layers of mats, one on top of another, looking all so fresh and clean, and, with their pretty variegated woollen borders, giving colour to the whole place. The walls were lined with reeds, arranged in most complicated patterns, and tied together with sinnet—native-made brown string. The greatest precision and nicety was preserved throughout, evidently with a view to decoration, the effect being exceedingly pretty and by no means suggesting savage workmanship. Not a reed out of its proper angle, and not a bind of the string but formed part of the pattern. A very handsome tree-trunk supported the roof. The greatest attention had been given to this also. The wood was polished and exact in form all the way up.

"The worst of a Fijian house is that it looks, and to a European is, so thoroughly unadapted to anything but complete laziness. The ground sinks under your feet, and I can only compare it, for walking upon, to a spring mattress. You throw yourself down out of sheer uneasiness in any other position. Chairs stand very unsteadily, and though very unadapted to their surroundings, are, I fancy, gradually creeping into fashion. One, for instance, was in this house as an appendage to the foot sewing-machine, which the lady works most industriously herself.

"I was called away to find the others looking on at the dances. Our seats for the afternoon were on the stone foundation of the Assembly House, where the chiefs had held their councils since William opened the meeting a month ago. Though mats had been put down for them, I can't say I found mine soft by any means. In the interval before the men arrived for the next dance I took the opportunity of going inside the house with Mr. Le Hunte. It was really a beautiful building, much as I have before described, but far larger and loftier than any I had yet seen. At one end was a small raised seat of mats, with a handsome staff lying on it. This was the Governor's seat, and the rod the emblem of office which the chief of the province delivers up to his superior chief when he arrives in it. At the other end hung a very fine curtain of tappa. Both colour and design were in exceedingly good taste. The greatest care had been taken in making it, as its destination is Marlborough House. The young Princes,[1] it seems, left money to be spent upon the finest tappa that could be made for them.

"At last the dancing party arrived. They were dressed in tappa from head to foot. It was wound round and round their bodies, and stood out fully a yard, in some cases more, from the men who wore it. The shape of each wearer had entirely disappeared, his head only peeping out of the

[1] The present Prince of Wales and his brother, the late Duke of Clarence, whose visit is subsequently described.

mass, and his arms lying straight out on the kind of table thus formed round him. The weight carried must have been considerable, but nevertheless about a hundred of those thus burdened formed into lines, went through stately figures, giving occasionally a shuffling motion to the feet, which caused a singular thud and actually made the ground shake. After the dance was over they all came up in front of us and unwound from themselves the tappa—an operation which took some time to get through—and placed it upon the ground, others coming to carry it off to form part of the tribe's contribution to the presents to be distributed on the morrow. After this there came up some two hundred men, bringing narrow mats which must have been of very great length in the aggregate. These when sewed together are for use as canoe sails.

"And this reminds me that I never told you of having seen the native soldiers making a sail for the Governor's canoe in front of Government House. Dr. MacGregor happened to be with me, and told me that the long needles with which they were sewing were made from human thigh-bones. These are now greatly treasured, as they are found to be smoother than any animal's bone that they can get.

"After seeing these canoe-sail men dance away for what seemed to me an endless time, we took our departure, having a long row before us, so as to get to the ship before dark and avoid the alternative of passing the night on the reef. It was nice going down the river in the cool of the evening, and we got on board before the light had quite left us, but very tired and fit for nothing but bed immediately after dinner.

"The next morning William set off about six, so as to be in time to close the meeting with the usual speech, etc., before the great function of the afternoon. I left later with Harry, and got there in time for luncheon, after which I was taken to see the house built for the Governor, which William used the last time he was here. The roof was finished off with large white cowry shells, which hung down from, and

were wound round, the pole projecting beyond the house at either end, adding much to the picturesqueness of the building. We strolled on through the town, which was in the most perfect state of cleanliness and order, though over 2,000 strangers have been staying here for the month. In our wanderings we came upon the "green room," where many objects to be seen I imagined at first to be simply heaps of tappa, separated by a very narrow space one from another. Suddenly, however, some of these began to move, and I then discovered that in the centre of each heap was a person dressed like those we had seen the day before, only 'more so'—I mean exhibiting an even more exaggerated form of the clothing mania; for really you could not see the feet of many of them. To see the bundles walking was a funny sight, and how they managed was marvellous. I pitied the poor creatures within, as the heat must have almost suffocated them.

"The 'lalies,' or native gongs, were sounding, so off we went to our old seats on the stones, all of us more or less weary with heat and fatigue; but the function had to be gone through with. After looking on at one or two dances, which we knew well, a really curious sight woke us up to interest again. This particular district produces salt, and its principal contribution to the presents consisted of this. At first small pieces were brought on, then others, gradually increasing in size, till at last there came a huge block weighing, I should say, considerably more than a ton. It was carried by some 200 men—all yelling loudly—on a great stage made of boughs of trees and covered with tappa. Pigs were squealing somewhere, but whence their cries remained still to be discovered. The men were too excited to work together, so that there was great difficulty in bringing the great mass along, the weight of which was increased by several screaming men on top of it. At last it was landed in front of William, and the unpacking began, the men still yelling and the pigs still squealing—a truly savage scene. First were taken off bundle after bundle of tappa

and mats innumerable, which had surrounded the *pièce de résistance*—the great block of salt. When this was with great difficulty also removed, there were dragged out, by any part of them which came first, a large number of pigs, which, wonderful to say, were still very much alive, after having been made to bear this enormous weight. How—poor creatures—they had not been smothered was difficult to imagine. Had William known beforehand of it, he would, of course, have prevented this cruelty, whatever the natives' feelings were on the subject; and such a thing will not be allowed to occur again.

"All these articles and animals having been removed, there appeared in the distance two or three hundred men, each bearing a mat; on the other side quite as many people with baskets. With much order at first these presents were brought up and laid one above another upon the heap already before us. Soon a press came, and the second row threw their charges over the heads of the first. Rows number three and four followed, and doing the same, the air above the heads of the people became filled with a great shower of mats and baskets amid yells and shouts from the whole concourse of natives, who enjoyed the fun vastly.

"After this the meke of the day took place, a thousand people dancing in it. Though more striking when seen with so large a number of performers, the movements and 'get up' were much as I have before described, except that in this case all the men carried long spears, which were shaken and brandished with such precision as to seem as though moved by a machine, and had a wonderful effect.

"But almost the prettiest sight of the afternoon was the chief's wife walking up the rara with a train of sixty yards long, carried by upwards of a hundred people. Marching behind her was her daughter of four years old with a longer train still. Though a tiny thing, she was well aware of being a personage, and the stateliness with which she held herself was extraordinary. They had placed by her the

biggest man I had ever seen, which perhaps made her look even smaller than she actually was. She took off her train and threw it on the grass, walking away haughtily with all her attendants following her. At last all was over, greatly to the relief of weary bodies; the whales' teeth were brought to William in token of respectful submission; good-byes were said, and we set off, glad to get to the end of a long and very hot day. On our way back it was nearly dark, and we had a dreary half-hour at the end of it in picking our way through the reefs; but we reached the ship safely at last, most of us well worn out.

"We reached home all fairly well, and since had our usual Christmas dinner of men away from their families. But William has been very unwell since we came back, and Dr. MacGregor says that he is working too hard for even a man in health. But the labour question here is becoming a terrible one, as also is the frightful scarcity of money, rendered worse by the mistake of going to Suva. All this worry, with the unusual heat of the season, is making him very sleepless, and I am beginning to fear that he will not be able to hold out long. Week after week and month after month of work without a day's intermission (even Sundays giving him no peace) is more than any man can stand, and I am very anxious.

"We received Mr. Lowe's message about Mrs. H., singularly enough, just before she was coming to spend some days with us on her way to Sydney to meet her husband. We like her so much, having made her acquaintance already.

"Mr. Williamson has been much shocked by the news of the Dean's (Stanley) death. They were great friends," etc., etc.

I may mention that the meeting described in the above letter was the last at which I had the great advantage of the presence and assistance of Mr. Wilkinson, whose combined knowledge of, and sympathy with the natives, was unequalled, and whom on this account I afterwards greatly missed. Owing to insufficiency of salary and the conse-

quent necessity of giving attention to his private business, he was obliged to resign office. Indeed, only by considerable personal sacrifice on the part of Sir Arthur Gordon had he been induced to retain office so long.

In the course of 1881 there occurred a disturbance among the natives of Vanua Levu, the cause of some anxiety. It seemed likely that a considerable number of tribes would become involved in it; so I at once chartered a local steamer and sent it off to the disturbed district. With it went the Chief Justice, whom I appointed Special Commissioner, Mr. Wilkinson, and Mr. Blythe, the magistrate of the district. For reasons before indicated, I deemed it necessary to exclude the disturbed district from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court; and the appointment of the Chief Justice as Special Commissioner, under the ordinance which permitted this course, was in order to neutralise the objections which on two other occasions he had raised to this exclusion.

In the event of force being required, there went also upon the steamer a detachment of armed Native Constabulary under their commandant, my A.D.C., Captain Herbert. Fortunately I gave instructions to Herbert that the force was to be under no orders but his, and was not to appear unless really necessary.

When the vessel arrived off the principal town of the disturbed district and it was proposed that the officers should go ashore, it was the opinion of all but the Chief Justice that they should do so alone and unarmed. The natives had as yet shown no hostility towards the Government, being excited only against one another. It seemed expedient, therefore, that, in the first instance at least, the iron hand should be concealed under a velvet glove, and that the effect should be tried of an appeal to their good sense, which, made with the tact and persuasive eloquence of Mr. Wilkinson, had hitherto proved successful. The Chief Justice, however, persisted in a different opinion, and imagining that he had a right to do so, ordered the armed

Constabulary to land with him. It was a trying moment for a young officer to use his discretion against an imperious command from such a quarter. But he proved equal to the occasion; and being in full agreement with the civil officers who were best acquainted with the native character, he, quietly and respectfully citing my instructions, declined to permit the men to leave the vessel. This was fortunate; for the officers on landing, the Chief Justice having been induced to accompany them, found a large number of people armed for fighting, and in a very excited condition. It was almost certain that if there had been an attempt to coerce them by a show of the small Government force, they would have resisted, and there would have been bloodshed, followed probably by a general disturbance requiring much greater means of repression. As it was, the unarmed officers, coming with evidently peaceful intent, received a hearing. Wilkinson, with the tone of quiet persuasiveness which was habitual to him, pointed out to them the folly of their conduct, and how even if victorious over their enemies, the Government was certain to punish them for making war at all; and as some of the chiefs would certainly be hanged, they would be as badly off as the conquered, and their fighting would have been useless. Though very angry at first, they were gradually led to reason, and submitted. Some of the principal misdoers were tried by the Chief Justice under my commission and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment with hard labour. Peace was thus restored without further trouble, and the Chief Justice returned, highly pleased with the result of the expedition. As he made no complaint against Herbert, I do not doubt that calm reflection had brought him to see that the young officer had, after all, been in the right.

CHAPTER IX

Death of Thakombau—Attend his funeral; description of ceremonies on the occasion; my speech—*Miranda* goes aground—Increasing difficulties of planters necessitate more protection for immigrants; my minute in defence of Protector—Abuses of Fijian intermigration; ordinance to repress them, and message to Council justifying it—Law for better regulation of Polynesian immigration.

IN February, 1883, the great chief Thakombau died. I felt his loss as that of a tried friend. A few years before, and such an event would have occasioned just apprehension. But he had lived long enough under Sir Arthur Gordon and myself to see justified to his people his loyal faith in British government, and his death, though sad to us who knew him, was now of comparatively little political consequence. According to native custom, the body of so great a chief could not be buried until the other chiefs of the islands were able to be present at the obsequies.

The body had been at once enclosed in a coffin filled with lime, and I was thus given ample time to obtain for the funeral ceremony the presence of a ship-of-war.

In response to my request, H.M.S. *Miranda*, now commanded by Captain Burges Watson, arrived at Suva towards the end of April. Accompanied by Mr. Thurston, as well as my personal staff, I embarked on the last day of the month, and arrived in the afternoon at our destination, the ship anchoring inside the great barrier reef of Viti Levu about two miles from the islet of Bau, which also lies within it.

In the old cannibal days the "loloku ni mate," a term applied to anything done to show respect for the dead, would in the case of such a chief have included, among

many other savage doings, the strangling of his widows, the amputation[1] of their finger-joints by his relations, etc. If there still lingered any native propensities in this direction, I was naturally unable to gratify them. But one of the old customs I was able to adopt, and so caused much satisfaction. As we approached Bau the long strips of black cloth which would always have appeared on a chief's approaching canoe, were, by Captain Watson's permission, attached to the yard-arms of the *Miranda*. As soon as these were seen, a whole fleet of boats put out from Bau, and as they neared us the black streamers were released from the yard-arms and went floating away on the wind followed by an eager, yelling, and splashing crowd of swimmers, each of them anxious to secure for himself a much-prized memento of so great an occasion.

In accordance with native custom, the coffin before being placed upon the bier was brought out, not through the door of the house where it had lain, but through a great gap in the wall made for the purpose. Though this mode of exit was strictly in accordance with ancient custom, it is probable that the size of the burthen rendered it in this case compulsory.

Thakombau's coffin weighing more than a ton, the task of carrying it up a steep hill and depositing it in a grave twelve feet deep would be no easy one. To avoid possible delay and confusion during the ceremony, I therefore suggested that it should be done before the funeral-party came ashore from the *Miranda*. My suggestion was adopted, the coffin was placed on an enormous bier, constructed for the purpose, and was carried up the hill to the grave by a great number of bearers, all of them chiefs and principally relatives of the deceased.

[1] Split reeds, into the cleft of each of which was fixed one of these finger-joints, were sometimes in great number fixed in the thatch of the dead chief's house. Such a spectacle was of course not to be seen in my time; but several persons of chiefly rank, both men and women, who visited us at different times had lost joints from one or more fingers. Some of those thus mutilated were of an age which led me to think that this custom of amputation must have survived long after the advent of Christianity.

As soon as the news had been signalled that the task of lowering the coffin to its place had been successfully accomplished, the British contingent taking part in the ceremony left the *Miranda*. Drafts of bluejackets and marines went first, and last in the procession of boats was that carrying myself and Captain Watson, a salute being fired as we left the ship.

On landing, a procession was formed, the firing-parties marching with reversed arms, one from the ship and another of Armed Native Constabulary, under command of Le Hunte, besides many white colonists and a great throng of natives. Near the top of the hill we were met by Mr. Langham and three of his white fellow-missionaries, and we proceeded to the grave, a great number of those present, led by the missionaries, singing the Fijian version of the hymn, "I am the Resurrection and the Life." The *Miranda* at the same time fired minute guns.

During the funeral service I stood over the grave, in the darkness of which could be seen little else than a mass of bright flowers, including some very beautiful wreaths. As I glanced upwards the aspect of nature seemed to be in complete unison with the sadness of the scene immediately around me. The whole sky was overcast with gloomy clouds, and there fell an almost imperceptible rain. On the left the ragged peaks of the Viti Levu Mountains were crowned with white clouds, the undulating plains at their feet scarcely visible through the mist. In front and to the right, immediately beyond the native town at our feet, the great sheet of water inside the barrier reef, usually many-coloured, was to-day all of a uniform grey. The ocean beyond, with ghosts of distant islands breaking the horizon here and there, was imagined rather than seen, its proximity attested only by the distant booming of the surf as it broke upon the reef.

The service over, each of the firing-parties, the sailors first and then the Native Constabulary, discharged the customary three volleys, and the ceremony at the grave came to an end.

Adjourning to the rara, in the midst of the town, the whole party took part in the ceremonial kava-drinking. By special request from the chiefs, I made a short speech to the great crowd assembled, which was well translated into Fijian sentence by sentence. It began as follows :—

"It is with reluctance, my friends—chiefs and people of Fiji—that I break the silence which belongs to a day of mourning—mourning which is plainly visible on many sad faces before me, and in which the heavens seem to partake with this gentle rain which not indistinctly resembles tears."

I should mention that such metaphor was in full accord with the native feeling. For the Fijians firmly believed the ordinary course of nature to be affected by the death of their great chief. The great comet of the year before was regarded as a portent of it, while a local whirlwind which struck Bau shortly after the funeral was looked upon as its fitting close.

Continuing, I touched, of course, upon the salient points of Thakombau's character :—

"In the old days, when he, as well as you, were still in the darkness of ignorance, he rose to be a chief among chiefs, not merely by his courage—for there were others probably as brave as he—but because being as brave as any, he was at the same time wiser than his fellow-men. Thus not by the accident of birth, but by the force of his personal character he achieved a position superior even to that of others whose family was regarded as higher than his own. Again, when the light of knowledge began to dawn upon his mind, he at once recognised its value, and had the wisdom to utilise it for the benefit of himself and his people. By his successive adoption of the lotu and of the Queen's sovereignty, and by leading you in the same path, he caused you to incur a debt to him the value of which cannot be estimated. He brought you out of the storm, which was threatening you with shipwreck, into the haven of peace in which you are now resting, and from which you can, with

the aid of memory, look with thankfulness beyond the protecting reef to the raging waters from which you so recently escaped. I refer to those troublous times when the life of everyone, from the highest to the lowest, was in danger—daily and nightly in danger—from violence, when one man sowed and his enemy reaped the fruit, when the whole land was filled with blood and with horrors unspeakable. I refer to those times simply that their memory may enable you the better to understand what you and Fiji owe to the Vunivalu, and that you may more fully recognise another gift which his death cannot take from you—I mean the value of his example."

Finally, I requested the chiefs to proceed to the Bose vaka Turaga, to be held that year in the province of Macuata, expressing "a hope that the spirit of your lost chief may still be present at your deliberations, and that these may prove, as heretofore, to be for the welfare of Fiji and the happiness of its people."

After my speech came the funeral feast, for which one hundred and one pigs, thirty-two turtles, and an enormous quantity of vegetable food had been prepared in the hot-stone ovens—a custom which, however repellent to civilised feeling, is not without parallel in various parts of Europe.

The *Miranda* with our party on board left on her return voyage to Suva the same afternoon; but quickly went aground upon a shoal inside the reef. The accident delayed us for several hours, and at one time caused some apprehension. For as the tide fell the ship had an increasing "list," which caused many visits to the indicator showing the extent of divergence from the perpendicular. At low water, indeed, we had come very near the point of danger. But the rising tide brought safety, and at high water we got off happily without injury to the ship.

Of the ceremony of the day one feature only had not given me satisfaction, and had I noticed it in time I should have attempted a remedy. Though a considerable number of ordained native clergy were present, the funeral service

Mr. Thurston Capt. Burges Watson Governor Mr. Blyth

NATIVE MEETING AFTER THAKOMBAU'S FUNERAL

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was performed exclusively by white missionaries. That the natives felt this as a slight to their people I cannot doubt, and I think it probable that such manifestation of race-superiority, however unintentional, contributed to the unpopularity, shown in various ways, of some of the representatives of the Mission in my time. More than once it was suggested to me by prominent natives that I should establish in the colony the Queen's religion, assured that the great majority of the chiefs and people would join it. But however regrettable was the conduct of the Mission at this time, I felt that such policy was out of the question, in view of what Fiji owed to their Society, and I was averse in any case to introducing a third element of religious discord which the rivalry of Wesleyans and Roman Catholics already rendered acute. Whatever its defects, the Wesleyan Society had conferred and was still conferring a great boon to the islands, though I confess I had little sympathy with its doctrine.

To return to my administration. With the planting community and the shopkeepers who depended upon them, constituting almost the whole of the white community with the exception of officials, my relations did not improve. Falling markets for produce and insufficiency or total want of capital rendered the failure of the great majority of planters certain, even if the abandonment or relaxation of all regulations for the protection of the natives and other employés had brought about the utmost possible abundance and cheapness of labour. But the very impecuniosity of the planters rendered more imperative the duty of protecting the labourers actually in employment, while there was a continually growing necessity for action which would involve a diminution in the supply of Fijian and extra-Polynesian labour. The death-rate, always high, of labourers working upon plantations under contract showed ominous signs of increase. Though there were some instances of deliberate cruelty exposed, and probably others undiscovered, I believe these to have been rare; but much

preventible mortality was unquestionably caused by inconsiderateness and by want of means to supply proper nourishment. It is much open to question whether the purely vegetable diet which was permitted in Fiji was sufficient to keep in health labourers working under contract conditions. For even at their homes, where work is spasmodic and rarely continuous for many days together, neither the Fijians nor the Melanesians of the groups to the westward (who furnish the great majority of imported labourers) are, for the most part, without occasional meals of fish or other animal food, and such support would seem more necessary for those engaged in the prolonged daily labour of a European plantation. In any case, if the diet is exclusively vegetable, there is the greater reason that it should be abundant and of good quality. And yet in Fiji at this time this was far from being the case generally. At certain seasons of the year many of the planters, especially those of one large island, did not supply any rations to their labourers, who were compelled to spend their off-labour hours in searching the neighbouring forests for wild yams (tivolis). This food was, I was told, wholesome, and in sufficient quantity was, no doubt, fairly sustaining. But the practice of compelling exclusive reliance on nourishment so obtained had become specially objectionable, since in the course of years the supply of roots in the immediate neighbourhood of the plantations had become much diminished, and excursions to obtain the necessary quantity of sustenance grew longer and longer, too often meeting with failure.

All this justified more and more searching inspection, and imposed upon me the duty of giving my utmost support to the inspectors in the performance of their very disagreeable and invidious task. Apart from minor causes, such as my refusal to grant largely signed petitions for remission of sentences passed upon white men convicted of outrages upon the coloured, the support thus given alienated the sympathy of the planters from an administration which

they had so enthusiastically welcomed on my return as Governor.

How necessary was this support is shown by the minute which caused the first serious explosion of anger, and which, I may add, received subsequently the full approval of Lord Kimberley, then Secretary of State for the Colonies.

It was published in the Fiji *Official Gazette* of August 5th, 1882, as follows :—

"His Excellency the Governor has directed the publication of the following letter for the instruction of officers of the Government and for general information.

"JOHN B. THURSTON, *Colonial Secretary.*

"*1st August*, 1882.

"SIR,—Your letter of the 25th July having been laid before the Governor, His Excellency has made upon it the observations contained in a minute, a copy of which is attached.

"I have, etc.,

"JOHN LANGFORD,

"*For Colonial Secretary.*

"The Secretary,
"Planters' Association of Fiji.

"HIS EXCELLENCY'S MINUTE.

"The resolution of the general meeting of the Planters' Association of Fiji, forwarded with this letter, condemns the 'conduct of the Acting Agent-General of Immigration in visiting Mr. Parr's plantation after dark, and examining his labour, without the presence either of himself or his overseer.'

"It is to be regretted that the meeting, before passing judgment upon a public officer, should have permitted itself to be misled by an *ex-parte* statement, and should not have previously endeavoured to ascertain the true facts of the case, either by a question in Council or otherwise. Had this course been taken, the members would have become aware of circumstances which completely alter the aspect of the case, and which, it may be confidently expected, would have at least modified the opinion of the meeting.

"The Governor does not understand it to be the opinion of the Association that under all circumstances the visits of Immigration Officers to plantations should be in daylight, or that the examina-

tion of labourers should be invariably in the presence of the manager; but as the wording of the resolution is capable of such an interpretation, the Governor deems it his duty to express his entire disagreement with such a sentiment, both for the information of employers and for the instruction of officers charged with inspection.

"Owing to the great extent of the districts of magistrates and the extreme difficulties of intercommunication, aggrieved immigrants can but rarely make their complaints heard except to a protecting officer present upon the plantation. For this reason alone frequent and unexpected visits on the part of such officers are more necessary here even than they have proved to be in other colonies. There is, moreover, another special reason for such visits in the extreme ignorance and timidity of the newly arrived Polynesians, whose well-known silence under suffering and neglect has recently received very remarkable illustration.

"The late heavy mortality among the immigrants in a certain district has, by competent authority, been partially attributed to their having been compelled to work in the fields more than the legal number of hours, and after dark; and as this has become a subject of frequent complaint from various parts of the colony, and is an abuse exceedingly difficult of proof, the Governor not only cannot forbid, but is bound to encourage, the adoption of what would frequently be the only means of ascertaining its existence with certainty.

"It is therefore well for employers to understand clearly that officers will be instructed to visit plantations after dark where there is a reasonable ground for suspecting such an abuse, and when this course is the only one likely to effect the object in view.

"As regards examining labourers without the presence of the employer, the Governor is of opinion that while the presence of the employer is desirable, though not necessary, during the greater part of the inspection, the inspecting officer's duty is improperly performed if, when he asks the labourers as to any complaints they may have to make, he fails to require the departure out of hearing of all persons concerned in the management of the plantation. Abundant experience goes to show that just causes of complaint are liable to be suppressed unless this precaution be taken on behalf of indentured immigrants; and however natural and right may be the common sentiment against inquisitorial proceedings, it is in this case entirely outweighed by the consideration

that there is no other effectual security against the oppression of persons who are specially liable to intimidation, and who may be otherwise in a peculiarly helpless condition.

"There are, no doubt, many employers who are ready and willing to do all that is right by their labourers, and it is matter for regret that they must by necessity suffer from restrictive measures which may perhaps be required only for a minority. It is, moreover, probable that certain general rules prescribed by the immigration law are unnecessary with reference to exceptional cases, and yet they must be universally enforced in order to justify any punishments for their non-observance.

"At the same time, the Governor cannot ignore the fact that there has been very general neglect of some of the most obviously required measures for the health and comfort of the immigrants, and that this has been shown by no means exclusively or specially on the plantations of the less wealthy proprietors.

"Recent events have tended to show that employers have hitherto enjoyed an immunity from inspection and prosecution which, in the interests of the colony as well as the immigrants, cannot be permitted to continue; and the Governor takes this opportunity, therefore, to make it publicly known that he has already taken some measures, and has under consideration others, for enforcing a more stringent observance of the regulations than it has for various reasons been hitherto practicable to secure.

"The Governor is well aware that the views and intentions thus expressed will not be generally popular among employers; but he is not without hope that they will gradually recommend themselves to the good judgment of many, and will thus by contributing to the improvement of the labourers' condition tend to obviate that friction between public officers and planters which must inevitably result from the continuance of the present state of things.

"If employers generally would regard their true interests, they would come to look upon a Government inspector, doing his duty fearlessly and thoroughly, as a friend rather than an enemy, inasmuch as he is assisting to secure the permanence of an essential condition of their prosperity.

"Apart from the fact that immigrants will be more readily and cheaply obtained for a country where they are known to be well treated, it should never be forgotten that the importation of labourers under contracts of service for long periods is permitted

only in the belief that the employed generally benefit by it as well as the employer, and it may be taken as certain that if this belief were once to be seriously shaken, the whole system would come quickly to an end.

"To guard effectually against a result which, it is needless to say, would involve the ruin of the majority of the white inhabitants of the colony, is required not only firmness and incessant vigilance on the part of the Government, but a co-operative rather than an obstructive spirit on the part of employers with reference to measures deemed necessary for the protection of the immigrants.

"In this view the attitude assumed by the Association is peculiarly to be regretted at a time when the fate of Polynesian immigration is hanging in the balance, and when it is therefore specially desirable to secure the continuance of immigration from India. For the sensitiveness in respect to inspection which is indicated by their resolution is sure to be regarded outside the colony as ominous of defects requiring to be concealed.

"At whatever cost, the Governor is determined, in so far as in him lies, that such a reproach shall not be just, and as he looks to the Association to aid him in his efforts, he cannot but deplore action which is calculated to obstruct them by intimidating public officers in the performance of their duty.

"It has been necessary to take special notice of this resolution, inasmuch as it forms the climax of a series of attacks to which Mr. Anson has been subjected since his appointment to office. In so far as their character can be judged from the few complaints that have been officially made, these attacks have been wholly undeserved, and have indeed indicated a condition of things which affords a strong justification of Mr. Anson's appointment.

"At a time when the demand for labourers is considerably in excess of the supply, and there is therefore a special temptation to press hardly on those already in service, the Governor feels it incumbent upon him to make known that public officers who are conscientiously doing their duty by the coloured races may be assured of his support against intimidation in whatever form displayed; and he also thinks it well to warn employers that, other things equal, special favour in allotment of immigrants will be shown to those plantations where the immigration law is most faithfully observed, and where the least difficulty is thrown in the way of inspecting-officers.

"In conclusion, the Governor desires to say that while feeling bound, in a matter of such vital moment to the colony, to express his opinions frankly, though they are apparently opposed to those of the Association, he nevertheless fully recognises the usefulness and importance of a body so largely representing the interests of European employers; indeed, it is the high consideration in which he holds the Association which leads him specially to regret a resolution which is likely to affect the weight given to its suggestions in the future.

"(Signed) G. WILLIAM DES VŒUX,
"*Governor.*"

In the correspondence which followed this minute I pointed out by way of additional justification for stringency of inspection that besides the "tivoli" practice above described, some planters fed their labourers exclusively upon sweet potatoes, which, being held by competent medical authority to be at its best a poor diet, was especially so in parts of Fiji where the quality of this vegetable was very inferior. Also, that probably to a great extent in consequence of such insufficient food, the death-rate of Polynesians, which for the three years ending in 1881 had been sixty-three per thousand, had in 1882 (the date of this correspondence) greatly increased, even the lesser rate being an enormously high one for men[1] mostly in the prime of life, and four times greater than the recently recorded mortality of Indian coolies in some of the West India colonies.

It will be observed that in the above minute I refer to the fate of Polynesian immigration as hanging in the balance. Though afterwards I was led to doubt whether such labour traffic ought to be tolerated at all, what was here meant was that the cost of importation was increasing so fast as to threaten to become prohibitive. Abuses con-

[1] It is scarcely necessary to point out that among people living under ordinary conditions something like fifty per cent. of the total mortality is that of infants under five years old. So where, as in this case, there were practically no infants, the death-rate, for purpose of comparison, would require to be about doubled.

stantly revealed compelled increasing stringency of regulations, which heightened the planters' resentment, their difficulty of obtaining recruits being already great from the rapid depopulation of the islands constituting the principal recruiting grounds. Towards the end of my term of office in Fiji I became extremely doubtful whether the conditions under which this trade was necessarily conducted did not defy any and all regulations for security against abuses. In fact, I only forebore from recommending its abolition because of the belief that it would shortly die a natural death, and also because such a course would increase the difficulty of protecting the Fijians. Needless to say that, entertaining these views, the recent measures of the Government of Federated Australia for the extinction of this labour traffic have caused me special pleasure.

The intermigration of Fijians under labour contracts required at this time as close attention as the Polynesian immigration question, and was of even more immediate and serious moment. My message to the Legislative Council on the introduction of a new law on the subject,[1] gives a complete résumé of this difficult question and my attitude towards it, besides throwing light upon abuses which were closely analogous to those of the external labour traffic.

As supplementary to my despatch on this subject, I afterwards forwarded to the Secretary of State a map of Fiji with that of an equal area of the West Indies drawn on the same scale, for the pupose of showing, that, owing to the long distance of sea which separated many of the islands of Fiji, together with difficulties of communication, this intermigration of people under labour contracts was practically emigration, and equally required careful supervision. Among the large number of my despatches which were about this time presented to Parliament, Lord Derby regarded this of sufficient importance to be included, as

[1] Printed in the Appendix.

enabling a comprehension of the subject difficult to be obtained otherwise.[1]

The ordinance referred to in the above message encountered, as I expected, very violent opposition. It was passed only by the official votes, and caused my unpopularity with the planters and their friends to reach its climax. It was, however, approved by the Secretary of State, and though its consequences to myself were more complete isolation and subjection to increased virulence of attacks, appearing not only in the Fijian papers, but also in a modified form in those of Australia and New Zealand, I cannot say that I ever regretted my action in this connection. Owing to the determination of the home Government to give no pecuniary assistance to Fiji, the stringency of some of the most important provisions of this law were, I believe, quietly relaxed after my departure from the colony. Had it been maintained in integrity, which the exceedingly difficult position no doubt rendered impracticable, I have little doubt that it would have largely prevented the decrease of population which has since taken place. And I have still less doubt that had the home Government extended reasonable assistance to Fiji at the outset—say, half the amount for ten years which France after more than two hundred years of occupation was spending, and is still[2] spending, upon the single island of Martinique (which has an area less than one-fifth of that of the lesser of the two principal islands of the British colony)—there would by this time have been a considerably increased, instead of a steadily decreasing, population, while the conditions of trade and revenue would have been far more prosperous.

[1] As adding to the difficulties of this question, touched upon in the above message, I may mention the discovery that some of the very high chiefs, who had with evident sincerity joined in the complaints respecting the withdrawal of their people to a distance from their homes, had nevertheless succumbed to temptation in the shape of bribes offered to them for inducing labourers to contract.

[2] This was written before the eruption of Mount Pelee and terrible extinction of the town of St. Pierre.

At least we should have been free of the disgrace, which now attaches to us, of having made no reasonable effort to discharge the moral obligation incurred towards the natives in accepting from them the cession of the islands.

Shortly after the Native Labour Ordinance had become law, abuses connected with the importation of Polynesians and their treatment in the colony compelled me to pass a more stringent law for the protection of these peculiarly helpless people. Without entering into now uninteresting details, I may mention that the regulations thus imposed had the incidental effect of rendering the employment of these immigrants more expensive, and thus, if possible, increased my unpopularity with the unofficial white community.

CHAPTER X

Relative positions of Governor and Chief Justice—Chief Justice B.'s obstructiveness; ordinance passed defining his duty; he is transferred to another colony—"Out of the frying-pan"—Chief Justice C.'s persistent hostility; necessitates ordinance; he complains to Secretary of State, and is censured; delivers judgment which compels exceptional action; he is relieved of office in Fiji.

A JUDGE in a British colony holds, and rightly holds, his position by a much more secure tenure than a Governor. For while the latter can be recalled by the Secretary of State without reason assigned, it is only very flagrant misconduct which justifies a Governor in suspending a judge, or the Secretary of State in dismissing him. Indeed, his dismissal rarely, if ever, takes place, except upon advice tendered to the Sovereign by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and resort to that tribunal is so grave a matter that it is not likely to be undertaken unless the Colonial Office be moved by influential public opinion. If a judge, therefore, manages to avoid offence to the leading Europeans in the colony, he may indulge at will in almost any eccentricity, or cause continual embarrassment to the Executive. He has the comfortable assurance that at worst he has nothing to expect but a reprimand, while he is not without reason for hoping that obstructiveness sufficiently persevering may obtain for him a transfer to a more congenial post. The course pursued by some judges would, indeed, almost seem to be deliberately chosen with that object in view.

On the other hand, a Governor, in any serious conflict of views with the judge, must never be in the wrong; and however provoked by intemperate language in correspond-

ence or malicious utterances on the bench, must avoid showing any sign of temper. In either case he will be in serious danger of losing his office, or at least will incur discredit injurious to his future career.[1]

All this will serve to show that, even if I had had a cynical disregard for the extreme inconvenience and scandal which result from differences between the executive and judicial branches of the Service, my action against two successive occupants of the bench in Fiji would, on the mere ground of self-interest, not have been lightly undertaken.

My experiences with Chief Justice B. in my first administration caused me to return to Fiji with a fixed determination to make any sacrifice consistent with my duty to the public to maintain friendly relations with him; and I hoped that this would prove more easy than before, because except as judge he would have nothing further to do with the High Commission. The task, however, proved more diffi-

[1] A judge has also a great advantage over a Governor in his immunity from local attacks and abuse. For he has a ready means of repressing such in his power of committing for contempt of court; and though this remedy is rarely resorted to, the mere fear of it renders him practically free from the libels and gross misrepresentations to which the Governor of a Crown Colony is continually subject. This comparative immunity was well illustrated in the early days of British Government in Fiji. For Sir Arthur Gordon was continually being assailed by the local newspapers in a style, to find a parallel for which the better portion of the Press in England or Australasia might be searched in vain; while during my last two years in the colony there was heaped on my head abuse even more violent, sometimes amounting to malignant libel. On the other hand, Chief Justice B., though, on account of the creditable firmness with which he repressed cruelty to natives and other causes, equally unpopular with the white community, was almost free from attack, except in the form of vague innuendo; and he even received praise for his judgments in civil actions against the Government, which were, I think invariably, adverse to it.

With reference to attacks in the Press, it may further be noted that a Governor has against them practically no remedy. An action for libel in his own colony is for obvious reasons out of the question, and unlike a politician at home, he, except with reference to some subject of discussion in the Legislature, can neither defend himself nor allow himself to be defended by a colleague. For experience has shown that to take any notice of abuse on the part of an unscrupulous Press is only to give it encouragement. His justification, addressed to the Secretary of State, may, or may not, appear years afterwards in a Blue Book, and with that possibility he has to remain content.

cult than I expected. Having but very little of obligatory duty, he had abundant leisure for the indulgence of *cacoethes scribendi* of a very severe type; while having been sometimes useful to my predecessor for the drafting of necessary laws, he seemed to think himself entitled to address me on any subject in the capacity of either judge, member of the Legislative Council, or amateur adviser. He was continually writing me letters or seeking interviews for the purpose of suggesting some desirable object of expenditure with little or no appreciation of our financial condition, or of criticising or opposing something I had done, was doing, or was reported as about to do.

For the first year after my return, by means of conciliatory replies and social amenities, I always succeeded in avoiding an open rupture. But this comparatively happy state of things was not to last. His house becoming damaged by a hurricane, the Chief Justice went off to live at Suva, some seven or eight months before the seat of Government could be moved thither. Having taken chamber business without authority in a building not yet accepted from the contractor, he notified his intention of holding court there also.

At this time all the Government offices (except those of the Immigration Department) were still in Ovalau. Owing to the insufficiency of the staff of the Works Department, the new Government House at Suva was not even commenced, and the total of adult residents at the prospective capital could hardly have exceeded a score. Yet the Attorney-General, the officers of the court, the lawyers engaged in cases, the parties to suits, the prisoners for trial, and the witnesses would be required at each session to proceed from Levuka to Suva. And all this loss of time and cost to private persons and Government (which would have on each occasion to charter a special steamer) was to be incurred for the convenience of a single officer.

Such a condition of things could not, of course, be tolerated. Conciliatory remonstrances proving in vain, I

promptly drafted an ordinance enacting that sittings of the Supreme Court were to be held only in such places as appointed by the Governor, and providing that until the removal of the seat of government to Suva the Chief Justice should reside for six days of each month, except March (vacation), in Levuka. This ordinance passed the Legislative Council without a dissentient voice, and immediately became law; but it was not made public until the Chief Justice had rejected my offer to keep back the draft until it had been sanctioned at home, on condition of his conforming to its provisions in the meantime.

This ordinance, against which Chief Justice B. made vigorous protest, was at once put into force, and was subsequently approved by the Secretary of State. In consequence I was threatened with an indefinitely prolonged flow of hostile correspondence, when an end was put to a painful situation by the departure of the Chief Justice from the colony.[1]

I now experienced a relief impossible to describe, and the next few months, though troublous in other respects, were a period of peaceful relations with the Supreme Court. For in Mr. (now Sir Fielding) Clarke, the Attorney-General, whom I appointed as Acting Chief Justice during the vacancy, I had already recognised an exceptionally able lawyer. His judicial mind, together with his accurate judgment and absolute impartiality, have, in each of the colonies where he has served, gained for him the utmost respect both from the Government and the colonists.[2]

My relief was but temporary. In vain I indulged the

[1] The Secretary of State offered him an appointment in another colony, which with great difficulty I, after some weeks of suspense, induced him to accept; and he left Fiji towards the end of 1882.

[2] Sir Fielding Clarke after having been for some years Chief Justice of Fiji and Judicial Commissioner under the High Commission, was persuaded by me to accept a Puisne Judgeship in Hong Kong, as being an office where his talents and merits were more likely to become known. On the occurrence of a vacancy in the Chief Justiceship of the latter colony, he was, on my recommendation, appointed to it, and is now Chief Justice of Jamaica.

hope that the existing happy state of things would continue; but on the arrival of the new Chief Justice I was not long in making the discovery that I had fallen from the frying-pan into the fire.

I have explained that there was extreme bitterness against the Government on the part of a large portion of the white community. Though the new Chief Justice, while staying as a guest in our house for some weeks after his arrival, occasionally indicated a certain sympathy with this feeling, he left us apparently in a spirit of cordial friendliness. But almost immediately he began to show anti-Government bias, and from that time until his final departure from the colony in the following year he caused to me and my *locum tenens*, Mr. (Sir John) Thurston, an amount of trouble, embarrassment, and unnecessary correspondence which can only be estimated by a perusal of the voluminous record of it at the Colonial Office.

His first "move," which he must have known would cause much executive embarrassment, was to curtly refuse performance of the duty of advising the magistrates in certain cases—a duty which Sir William Hackett, the first Chief Justice of Fiji,[1] had made obligatory by Order of Court, and had until then been discharged by all his predecessors. Besides other grounds for his refusal, Chief Justice C. finally contended that the order was *ultra vires*.

When all remonstrance had failed, I was obliged to pass through Council an ordinance "to remove doubts" as to the validity of the Order of Court in question, by which the duty enjoined by it was rendered compulsory.

This ordinance furnished the chief of a long series of complaints against me set out at length in a letter addressed to the Secretary of State, during my absence in Australia in 1883–4. It is unnecessary to specify these here, and I content myself with saying that the Secretary of State confirmed the ordinance against which Chief Justice C. had protested, and gave judgment against him

[1] Afterwards Chief Justice of Ceylon.

on all other points. The despatch conveying these decisions not only approved my action, but severely censured that of Chief Justice C., who by it was deprived of the right, hitherto enjoyed by the Chief Justice of the colony, of addressing the Governor directly.

But this despatch arrived too late to prevent further trouble. Before its receipt Chief Justice C. had entered upon a still more open hostility, which forced me, in the interests of the colony, to more serious action.

In a suit brought by a leading planter against Mr. Anson, the Agent-General of Immigration, for cancelling the indentures of certain Polynesians, Chief Justice C., while deciding, confessedly with great reluctance, in favour of the defendant, delivered a long judgment, which not only contained offensive innuendo against myself, and most improperly criticised the conduct of the Attorney-General (Fielding Clarke), contemptuously styled as "the Governor's young friend," but grossly aspersed the action of Mr. Anson, which in the opinion of every member of the Executive Council[1] was his plain duty towards a peculiarly helpless class of immigrant. In fact, the whole tenour of this deliberate utterance from the bench was such as would have the effect of intimidating officers whose task of doing their duty by the subject races was already sufficiently difficult. If there should ensue any general failure of justice towards those who formed the great majority of the colony, government by moral force alone would quickly become a failure also, and the presence of troops or ships-of-war would become necessary.

Under the circumstances, being fully alive to the gravity of the decision, I made up my mind that I could be no longer responsible for the government if this judge should be permitted to remain in office. In brief, either he or I must go.

The Chief Justice asked for, and I had gladly granted

[1] The Council at the time included, besides the Attorney-General, Mr. (Sir John) Thurston, and Dr. (Sir William) MacGregor.

him, leave of absence immediately after the delivery of this judgment. When I had received a copy of it the question arose how I could prevent his return. In a case which to so considerable an extent affected me personally I could not take proceedings for his suspension, as these would have to be conducted and practically decided by myself. On the other hand, if charges were sent to the Secretary of State in the first instance, they would, of course, be referred back to the accused for his observations, in which case two courses of post between Australasia and England, and the time necessary for the Secretary of State's consideration, would involve a delay of several months, perhaps a year, this being a much longer period of leave than I should be justified in granting after so short a service.

Under these circumstances I wrote to Chief Justice C. a letter containing all I had to say against him, including various charges which, if proved, were of a sufficiently serious nature to justify his removal from office. At the same time I informed him that I should forward a copy of this letter to the Secretary of State, with the expression of my desire that the charges should be brought to the notice of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and also intimating my willingness to bear the expense of the proceeding. In conclusion, I recommended the judge to go home for the purpose of conducting his defence, thus giving him leave with that object.

I had now, so to speak, "burnt my ships," and for several months was not without anxiety as to the consequences. For some of my charges, if proved, would cause unfavourable comments upon the appointment of such a man to high judicial office.

In the event he did not go to England, but offered an Acting Puisne Judgeship in one of the Constitutional Colonies during a temporary vacancy, he telegraphed home for permission to accept it, intending, no doubt, while still retaining his permanent office in Fiji, to make a remunerative use of his vacation in an agreeable climate.

The result of his application little conformed to his expectations. The permission he sought was cabled back, and he had taken up the acting position, when his surprise may be imagined on receiving an official letter which, assuming that his application involved resignation of the Chief Justiceship of Fiji, informed him that the vacancy thus caused in that office had been filled up![1]

This mode of settling the difficulty was no doubt ingenious, but, on the other hand, unfair, I venture to think, both to the accused officer and the colony in which he was permitted to accept office. As I never heard anything further respecting my charges beyond mere acknowledgment of the despatch containing them, it is clear that they must have been regarded as having substantial foundation, or I should have been recalled. And this view is further supported by the fact that shortly after the Chief Justice's judgment had reached home, Mr. Anson, whose character had been so unjustly aspersed in that judgment, was confirmed in the office in which he had up till then been only "acting." Another colony should not, therefore, have been permitted to appoint to a judgeship one lying under such imputations without receiving notice of them, while the judge was manœuvred out of office without the opportunity of clearing his character.

[1] He was at the same time granted half salary from Fiji up to the date of his taking up the acting appointment, unless I found it necessary to make arrangements inconsistent with such concession. As Mr. Clarke, the Attorney-General, who was on my recommendation appointed to the vacant Chief Justiceship, generously waived his claim to the full salary, I, though feeling that it was not deserved by one whose service had been such as described, caused the amount in question to be paid to Chief Justice C.

CHAPTER XI

A hurricane, and our experiences in it—A pugnacious crab—Can cockroaches feed on steel?—An after-dinner remark—Illnesses of staff—Visit of flying squadron carrying royal Princes; arrangements for their entertainment; R.Y.S. yacht causes disappointment—Arrival of squadron, and anxiety about quarantine—Thakombau's visit to Lord Clanwilliam—Native dances before Princes—A Fijian native Sunday service: curious habit—Princes and Mr. Dalton come to us for four-day visit—Native function of welcome—Princes drink kava—Cannibal-feast meke—Other functions—Native leave-taking—Thakombau's speech—Departure of squadron.

SO far the account of my life in Fiji during the years 1880–3 has dealt principally with matters political and administrative. I will now refer to some of the social and domestic incidents which happened at that time.

Within a few weeks after our return in December, 1880, we were visited by a hurricane. Fortunately the centre did not pass over Ovalau, but the strength of the wind towards the outside of its circle was formidable enough. As the gusts increased in violence, we grew apprehensive with regard to the security of that portion of the Nasova house in which we principally lived. Being on a higher level than the main building, it was more exposed, and when at length a specially furious gust gave the structure a perceptible lift, we felt it was time to beat a retreat. Accordingly our whole party collected in the lower rooms, and remained there the greater part of the night until the storm had subsided. The roar of the wind was such that we had to scream to one another in order to be heard. Once or twice a tremendous noise in the darkness made us fearful as to what might be happening outside.

When next morning we inspected the premises we found that little damage had been done, though there was ocular

evidence of the force of the wind. Among other of its effects, the Governor's eight-oared gig had been lifted from the edge of the sea and hurled to a distance of some fifty yards inland.

We heard afterwards that nearer to the storm-centre, on the west coast of Viti Levu, about eighty miles from us, a flock of sheep, sheltering themselves under a cliff, had been entirely destroyed, though none of them showed any external signs of injury. They had been suffocated by pressure between the wind and the cliff.

A room in the Nasova house was occupied by my wife, which some years before had been Miss Gordon Cumming's bedroom. One evening after dark she had an adventure with a large land-crab, very similar to that described in *At Home in Fiji* as having happened to the authoress in the same place. The sudden attack of the creature, with its huge claw aggressively raised, put her to momentary flight; but quickly recovering nerve, she returned, and with a stick ejected the intruder. Often in the night we were awoke by these migrating animals making a clatter with their hard shells on the bare wooden floors.

On several occasions in the West Indies I found razors which had been left in good condition with their edges fit only to be used for sawing. When I blamed the negro servants, they always forcibly asseverated their innocence, and attributed the injury done to cockroaches, which I naturally regarded as the West Indian equivalent of the proverbial cat. A small outhouse of our residence in Fiji provided a similar experience. It was always kept locked, no one having access to it except my wife. Among other articles stored there was a set of new razors. After they had been for some months in this place, I found one day to my surprise that all were useless, their edges presenting the same saw-like aspect which I had observed in the West Indies. Here was a mystery never elucidated. Since then I have heard of a beetle having been discovered in America with mandibles so strong as to enable it to bite iron. Is it

Hon. J. Amherst Author and Son Lady Des Vœux
Capt. Herbert—Miss Macgregor Mr. Allardyce

II.—*Face p. 72*

AT NASOVA, 1881

possible that here is the explanation? Cockroaches are indeed almost omnivorous. I know to my cost that they are not averse to indiarubber, as they almost entirely destroyed a waterproof coat kept in the same outhouse. But would they not draw the line at tempered steel?

Our social life at Nasova during the year and a half which elapsed before our removal to Suva was much the same as in my first administration, except that we had a considerably larger party in the house. We had a few guests from outside, chiefly naval officers, but otherwise "entertaining" was confined to officials and colonists, and had in it little worth recalling. I remember, however, one amusing occurrence. A guest whom, as being a prominent person in the colony, it had been a duty to invite, had imbibed more champagne than was good for him at dinner, and as he staggered away afterwards on the arm of his wife he was overheard by some of the staff to say in maudlin tones, "Them hices is all very well, but I tell you what—I can't abide them woggling jellies."

In July, 1881, all in Fiji rejoiced to hear that it was to have a visit from the Flying Squadron in which the royal Princes, sons of the Prince of Wales, were serving as midshipmen. Naturally the whole colony, whites and natives alike, desired to make the stay of our distinguished visitors as agreeable as possible. But how to do this with our very limited resources was a difficult matter; indeed, the only direction in which it seemed to me that we could exert ourselves with any prospect of success was by affording them an opportunity of seeing the natives and their "functions." Knowing there would be a universal desire to see and greet the grandsons of the Great White Queen, I sent messengers to the high chiefs, informing them of the expected visit, and at the same time giving them permission to come to Levuka, bringing with them some of their people. I informed the chiefs at the same time that the royal visitors would probably like to see their canoes, and also—a hint which I knew would be acted upon with

special alacrity—that some of their mekes would afford particular pleasure. Then came the difficult question of reception. In view of our exceedingly limited resources, I finally determined not to obtain a vote for the purpose, and to bear the whole cost myself, except in the following respect.

The Admiral and his staff would occupy all our spare rooms; and in order to permit the extension of hospitality to the Princes (who were to be treated as midshipmen) and their governor, I caused extra rooms to be added to the house in a separate building joined by a covered way. This was the only expense incurred at the cost of the colony. The building being of wood, could be easily transported to Suva, and later was actually floated down thither almost intact. During my time, and perhaps still, it formed part of the Governor's house there.

For several days before the squadron was expected canoes, heavily laden with natives and their food-supplies, were coming in from all parts of the group. The beautiful sight always afforded by the brilliant colouring of the harbour and barrier reef was enhanced by the red-and-white lateen-shaped sails moving in all directions. The excited condition of the natives was evinced by perpetual shouting and laughter, while canoes darted aimlessly hither and thither, with men sitting on the outriggers,[1] so that more sail could be carried in the fresh trade wind.

All was in readiness, and excited expectation was at its height both among whites and natives. One morning our ears were greeted by "Sail ho!" beginning far away and

[1] An outrigger is used in all the native-built vessels. In the greater number of these it consists merely of a heavy log supported by strong arms of wood at a distance of several feet outside the gunwale, its weight thus serving to keep the boat upright under a spread of canvas which would otherwise inevitably cause capsize. In a few of the larger boats the outrigger is a smaller canoe, which thus with its companion forms what is called a double canoe. Outriggers may be seen in all parts of the Western Pacific, from Japan to Tahiti, and also in the neighbouring Indian Ocean. Whether they are used on the Atlantic or in the Caribbean Sea, I do not know. I never saw one there.

THAKOMBAU'S DOUBLE CANOE

(PROBABLY THE LAST OF THE KIND BUILT IN FIJI)

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taken up all along the coast, with which cry, learned from Europeans, the natives used always to announce an approaching steamer. The smoke on the horizon appeared to be that of only a single vessel, and as there was no mail due at the time she was thought to be one of the ships of the squadron sent in advance. This idea was confirmed by her carrying a white ensign, never before seen in Fijian waters, except on a man-of-war. However, we were all deceived ; it was not a war-vessel at all, but a Royal Yacht Squadron yacht, carrying her owner, Mr. Lambert, and his family round the world. The Lamberts, who were frequently at our house during the next few days, compensated the people for their disappointment by giving them the pleasure of inspecting a very fine yacht, which was freely thrown open to visitors of every colour.

At length the long-expected day arrived. At sunrise on Saturday, September 6th, frantic cries of "Sail ho!" from both sides of our house announced that the squadron was really in sight. The five ships could be clearly seen ten miles away ; and as they approached and steamed slowly in line along the outside of the barrier reef, they afforded a majestic spectacle. The hour which elapsed before their arrival at the harbour entrance had sufficed for the great fleet of native canoes to sail out from the shore to meet them, the people on board blowing their conch-shell horns and uttering loud shouts audible a mile away, with a response in similar cries from a long line of coast. The *Inconstant* led the way through the narrow opening in the reef which is the entrance to Levuka Harbour. The other ships followed, and keeping distance with remarkable precision, were at length safely at anchor in a line parallel to the reef and the shore.

My anxieties in connection with the squadron's arrival were, however, not yet over. There had been rumours of epidemic disease in the Australian colonies. Had there been any such in Sydney at the time of the ships' departure, or if any of them were unable to show a clean bill of health,

my duty would, however unpleasant, have been clear, and I should have had to insist upon quarantine. Such a contingency, which actually occurred afterwards in the case of a man-of-war carrying Sir Arthur Gordon, would have been indeed a disagreeable one for the colony, and specially for myself. The possibility of infection was manifestly greater in a number of ships than in one; and for this reason, though I should inevitably be pressed on all sides to waive the regulations, it would be all the more necessary to enforce them. For had the law been relaxed in this particular instance, it would have been impossible to apply it at all in future, unless disease were actually on board; and considering the long period of incubation which is assigned to some of the most dangerous ills, and the shortness of voyages from Australia, and especially from New Zealand, this would be to render continually imminent a recurrence of the horrors which had followed the introduction of measles.

After talking over the matter with Dr. MacGregor, I could see no alternative to the strict enforcement of quarantine, if the bills of health should prove to be otherwise than absolutely clean, and while I should deeply regret such an outcome of the visit for myself, I need scarcely say I had no pleasant anticipation of the bitter odium I should incur on the part of the disappointed colonists if our distinguished visitors had not been permitted to land, and the squadron had sailed away before the termination of the prescribed period. Thus my anxiety on this score while Dr. MacGregor was visiting the ships was very great, and my relief was proportionately great when he signalled "All right."

At noon the Admiral (Lord Clanwilliam), with his flag-captain, flag-lieutenant, and secretary, and also the captains of the other ships, paid their official visits to me at Nasova. At five o'clock the same evening I paid a return visit to the *Inconstant*. As I left the ship on my return there was fired the usual salute of seventeen guns, but unfortunately a heavy downpour of rain prevented the manning of yards by the whole squadron, which Lord Clanwilliam had con-

siderately suggested, as desirable for making an impression upon the natives, and for which he had accordingly made preparations. I had intended at the same time to pay a visit to the Princes, but was told that this would be inconsistent with their position as officers on service. It was, however, arranged that they, accompanied by their governor, Mr. (now Canon) Dalton, should come ashore in the evening and dine with us, Lord Clanwilliam's engagements on arrival preventing him on that occasion from joining our party.

The rain was still pouring in torrents when the Princes and Mr. Dalton came ashore to dine with us. Besides my own staff, I had that night to meet them only Mr. Thurston, whose unequalled knowledge of the Western Pacific would, I thought, prove interesting. After dinner, the weather having cleared up, we went out upon the rara to witness a native meke, in which, as usual, the men made both slow and rapid movements in such perfect time that it seemed as though all of them were part of a single machine. The performance greatly interested the Princes, who quickly learnt to say "Vinaka" (good) with much unction.

The next day, Sunday, my wife and I attended morning service on the *Inconstant*, and in the afternoon the two Princes, with Mr. Dalton and Lord Charles Scott (captain of the *Bacchante*), came with us to the Fijian service, held for the Armed Constabulary, in the large native house which formed part of their quarters, close to Nasova. The apparent devoutness both of parson and congregation was impressive, and though we were able to understand but little of the sermon, one recognised in it the extremely energetic voice and impassioned gestures which are a common characteristic of Nonconformist preaching. The men were at first exceedingly attentive to their countryman's efforts; but after a time some of them seemed to weary, and caused us amusement, of course decorously restrained, by pulling their fingers so that the joints made loud cracks. From observation both on this and other occasions, I am inclined

to think that this is a common and probably unconscious habit of Fijians when their hands are not otherwise occupied. In the evening Lord Clanwilliam and his staff came to dinner, the Princes remaining on board ship.

On Monday the Princes, with Mr. Dalton, were on shore early, and took possession of the rooms prepared for them, which they occupied for the next four days. In the afternoon there was a great native function, intended as a ceremonial welcome to the Princes and squadron. The upper end of the rara at Nasova was covered with mats, upon which I took my seat in native fashion, with Thakombau on my right, the Admiral on my left, and the two Princes immediately behind me. On Thakombau's right were a number of the higher chiefs, while my staff and the officers of the squadron, including Mr. Dalton, occupied the remaining space. The ground was kept by the Native Armed Constabulary, and was surrounded by many of the white settlers, and a large concourse of natives in their picturesque costume. The water of the harbour, in colour light azure shading into green, bearing on its surface the line of graceful ships, and fringed in the distance by the many-coloured reef and the indigo sea beyond, contributed beauty to an otherwise striking scene.

After a long procession of natives had deposited in front of me a huge heap of presents, consisting of coconuts, fowls, yams, turtle, and other island products, the kava was made in the manner often described, the process being accompanied by the solemn chant of a large native band. As soon as the drink was in the recognised condition for consumption, Ratu Timoci, the second son of Thakombau, came forward to undertake the office of serving it. His dress was for once a purely native one, being that which according to ancient custom is assumed for gala occasions. It consisted entirely of a tappa sulu wound round him in many folds, his face, half encircled by hair rendered yellow by lime, being grotesquely painted vermilion and black. However, the fine proportions of his figure, his dignity of

ANNEXE OF NASOVA HOUSE (CONSTRUCTED FOR THE ROYAL PRINCES)

In verandah—Governor's Family, Staff, and European Servants.
In front—Armed Native Constabulary, Native Servants, Armed Native Constabulary, and Boat-hands

bearing, and the grace with which he performed his duty, entirely precluded the comic effect which otherwise might have been produced by his appearance.

After I and (according to native custom) my mata-ni-vanua had first drunk, a cup was offered to Lord Clanwilliam, who, courteously declining to drink before the Vunivalu, handed it to him, to the plainly evinced gratification of the Fijians present. The Admiral then drank his potion with apparent pleasure; he had acquired the, as I think, singular taste for this drink at Tahiti, when serving on the Eastern Pacific Station (a taste, by the way, which was shared by Sir Arthur Gordon and his staff). Prince Edward, however, did not share this liking. Though, after emptying the bowl, he preserved a decorous gravity, it was evident to a close observer that he had some difficulty in preventing the muscles of his face from indicating the nausea which, as he afterwards told me, he actually felt. Prince George, when his turn came, was equally decorous at the moment, but immediately afterwards, I was told, when attention was diverted elsewhere, he made a boyish grimace of disgust, which nearly caused an explosion of laughter to those immediately about him. Afterwards the native chiefs and the white officers present were offered the bowl alternately, until all had been served.

After the ceremony came several mekes, among which was that which had formerly preceded a cannibal feast. The weird and unearthly cries of the performers as they walked in procession along the road towards us were enough to make the flesh creep, and are not likely to be forgotten by those who heard them—in fact, they seemed singularly well adapted to the diabolical orgy for which they had been designed as a prelude.

The evening of the same day was occupied by an official dinner to the Admiral, his staff, and the captains of the squadron, the members of the Executive and Legislative Councils being invited to meet them. The Princes preferred to dine quietly with my wife, but joined us afterwards

on the rara, where there was opportunity of contrasting the civilised music furnished by the band of the *Inconstant* with the weird rhythmical sounds produced by the throats and instruments of the natives. Several mekes were performed, the scene being now and then illumined from the flagship by the electric light, which being seen by the natives for the first time drew from them loud exclamations indicating mingled awe and admiration. The light making a bright path of silver over the intervening sea brought out the figures of the performers into bold relief, and showed also in clear outline the trees upon the mountain behind. Seldom, I imagine, has this wonderful product of the nineteenth century lit up a scene at once so weird and so beautiful.

The next day, Tuesday, Mr. Thurston escorted the Princes, accompanied by Herbert, to a garden of plants, brought from many parts of the world, which he had made on a spur of the mountain at some distance from Nasova. Having a great accumulation of business to work off, I was unable to go myself. In the afternoon I had an interesting walk along the coast with Mr. Dalton, and at the other end of the town there was a cricket match, in which Prince George took part, between Levuka and the *Bacchante*. At dinner in the evening several leading chiefs were invited to meet the Admiral and the Princes, the after-dinner amusements being much the same as on the previous nights.

In the next two days there took place the following "functions":—

A ball at Government House, for which Lord Clanwilliam kindly lent us his band, and at which the Princes, dancing vigorously and appearing to enjoy themselves, gave general pleasure.

A dance on the *Inconstant*, very well done and even more lively than naval deck dances usually are.

Another big dinner at Nasova, followed by mekes in which, as their last performance before the departure of the squadron, the natives surpassed all their previous efforts in rapid and rhythmic movement and contortion.

The native ceremony of "leave-taking."

A dinner given by Lord Charles Scott on the *Bacchante.*

A citizens' ball at the Levuka Mechanics' Institute.

The native "leave-taking" was perhaps the most interesting "function" of the week. After a great presentation of native products, Thakombau made a short speech, in which he expressed with much warmth the joy he felt in seeing with his own eyes the "flesh and blood" of the great Queen to whom he had ceded his kingdom—an act he had never had cause to regret—and concluded by presenting to the Princes the "tambua" (whale's tooth) which is the native token of warm farewell.

The sight of the aged chief doing homage with graceful dignity to the youthful representatives of the Sovereign whom he had chosen to supersede him, could not fail to touch those who were able to appreciate all that was thereby implied.

At the end of the citizens' ball, as the squadron was to leave at daylight, we said "Good-bye" to our guests, and thus ended a visit which from their warm expressions we were happy to think had been agreeable to them, and therefore, needless to say, was specially agreeable to ourselves. The conditions of our life in Fiji rendered the very modest preparations for their pleasure to be made only with a difficulty and at a cost of trouble of which they could have had little idea, and it was therefore a great and real relief that their object had been fairly well attained.

CHAPTER XII

Fiji society—Fortunate in some of my public officers—Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Thurston : his remarkable career—News of Lord Frederick Cavendish's murder—Birth of our eldest girl—Removal to Suva—Unpleasant result of colour blindness—Disagreeable domestic experience—Comparative dullness of Suva—Note on observations of fish-life—Devil worshippers restored to sanity (note)—Wife-murderers in our garden—Parrots wild and tame : curious habits of latter—A Melanesian cowkeeper and his doings—Effect of ship's siren—I am made K.C.M.G., and the manner in which news was conveyed—Amherst's health breaks down, and staff difficulties at the time—Mr. Wallington—Fijian cricket.

AFTER this visit from the Flying Squadron, our social life during the subsequent three years of my second administration contained but few events deserving notice. While we remained at Nasova, its neighbourhood to Levuka (the principal resort of the colonists for pleasure and business) caused our entertainments to continue much as described in connection with my first administration; but at Suva there was considerable change in this respect. Except during meetings of the Legislative Council very few of the white inhabitants resorted thither ; so that we were able to receive at Government House few besides officials. On the only occasion, indeed, when we were there on Her Majesty's birthday, a considerable number of people came from a distance to our usual ball, and I was amused to see among them some who, as there was good reason to believe, had been assisting in virulent attacks upon me, though I took care that they should see no difference in the courtesy with which they were received.

I cannot say, however, that we much regretted this lessened opportunity for entertainment, for of all the colo-

nies in which I have served, Fiji gave us least pleasure in this respect.

Fortunately there were, besides the members of my personal staff, a few public officers who, living for the most part near at hand, we were able to see frequently, and whose position, character, and social qualifications permitted of a certain freedom of conversation. Amongst them was one whose premature death proved a serious loss to Her late Majesty's service. I refer to Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Thurston, who was in many ways a remarkable man. Of his early life I have no knowledge. Born in 1836, and, as I have been told, of good family, he had up to his thirtieth year been engaged as a merchant-sailor upon small vessels trading between the Pacific islands and the ports of Australasia. His education had been mostly acquired after he had arrived at manhood, yet it was remarkably effective; so that, besides his unsurpassed knowledge of the islands of the Western Pacific and of the many singular incidents of their recent history, he had a large fund of general and instructive conversation, added to a natural humour, which the vicissitudes of his life had been unable to quench. The other duties which our lack of officers imposed upon him prevented his being an ideal Colonial Secretary. For while he gave full information on the papers sent to me, he hardly ever suggested the action to be taken on them; thus throwing upon me much labour from which under ordinary circumstances I should have been saved. But I knew that the native tax system, of which he had charge, and the ordinary work[1] of his office was sufficient to occupy the whole of his time. He was always a hard worker, and I have little doubt from what I saw of and heard from him when he visited us in England in 1892, that the fatigue he underwent in governing the

[1] The extent of this work may be to a certain extent gathered from the number of letters bearing his signature. These, for the most part written from the Governor's minutes, were 4,397 in 1880 and had risen to 5,581 in 1881. Though I have not the figures, I know that their number was still further increased in subsequent years.

colony under new and exceptional difficulties was the principal cause of his early death. For Thurston rose to be himself Governor and High Commissioner, and his career was specially useful as showing that with ability and strength of character a man may under our English system achieve high position, despite an almost entire absence of early social and educational advantages.

In May, 1882, a cable arrived *viâ* Australia telling us of the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish, for whom I had for many years entertained a very warm regard. The distress caused by this news was revived and intensified when some weeks afterwards we learnt the particulars of his death. At the same time we received a letter from Lady Frederick, written a day or two before the event, and containing information with regard to her husband's new appointment and departure for Ireland, together with expressed apprehension of the danger he would incur there. The irony of fate was never better exemplified. With a character of remarkable amiability, no one had a keener desire to assist in redressing the wrongs[1] suffered by some of the Irish tenantry. Yet he was murdered by men who fancied they were avenging those wrongs.

Before and immediately after particulars of this sad event reached us I had been suffering the keenest domestic anxiety. On the 31st of May was born our eldest girl, and in consequence of a chill caught shortly afterwards, her mother was for some days in extreme danger. However, under the assiduous and skilful care of Dr. MacGregor, she was rescued from the very jaws of death. Then for a second time we experienced the extraordinary consideration of the Armed Constabulary in maintaining absolute quiet during the prolonged crisis.

Our removal to Suva took place in August, 1882. As the site of Government House there had only been settled upon in the previous October, when our way was cut to

[1] Impartial persons, even though they be ardent Unionists like myself, must acknowledge that there were such.

the spot through a thick growth of forest trees, it was to the credit of the overburdened Works Department that it had in so short a time rendered the house at all fit for occupancy. Though the surroundings were in a very rough condition, and covered with débris of all kinds, we found the house itself quite habitable. We were, however, more amused than pleased to observe that our colour-blind architect had caused the house to be painted a light orange-red, which he had mistaken for the red-lacquer colour which we had chosen. Straitened means prevented my having the work done over again, and so the flamboyant aspect of Government House remained as an apparent monument of our bad taste until the end of our time in Fiji.

Shortly after we had moved to Suva we received in a singular manner from the other end of the world information, previously unknown to us, of what had been happening in our house. The confidential servant of the Princes had while in Fiji observed that our steward, who had been with us some years, was drinking more than was good for him. Afterwards, while the *Bacchante* was in the Mediterranean, he happened to mention what he had seen to the steward of Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, the Naval Commander-in-Chief. In due course the flagship touched at Fiume, and this steward told the story to his fiancée, who, then in service there, was the maid who had been with my wife in St. Lucia, Trinidad, and during our first sojourn in Fiji. The latter, recognising what such intemperance might mean in trouble to my wife, at once wrote to tell her what she had heard. But unfortunately the warning arrived just too late. For only a week previously the man had had a violent attack of *delirium tremens*, which was all the more painful to us, as it occurred when we were alone without any staff in a little bungalow, occupied for a few days during the removal of our furniture from Ovalau.

The new house, though decidedly ugly, was more comfortable than that at Nasova. The rooms were larger —a matter of special importance in the tropics—and the

partitions being of wood and the roof shingled instead of thatched, rendered us freer from noxious insects. On the other hand, life in it was decidedly duller. For one thing we missed the lively fishing-parties of native women, which caused us not unfrequent amusement at Nasova; while the water at our pier being somewhat shallow, we had but little opportunity of observing the movements of fish, which at our former residence had been a constant source of interest.[1]

A lawn-tennis court and an excellent billiard-table, manufactured in Melbourne, afforded to the staff some recreation, for which exigencies of work rarely afforded me any leisure.

Among the labourers assisting Amherst in his efforts at landscape gardening were three men who had been

[1] At the end of the pier at Nasova the water was some three or four fathoms deep, and so clear that we could often see the underlying coral. Here, after many a weary day, we used to find relaxation in watching the doings of fish of all sizes and colours moving at different depths beneath us. At the bottom a little solitary fish of a brilliant blue colour seemed from its leisurely movements to have an easy life, with few or no enemies. But the case was very different with an equally small fish, little larger than whitebait, which seemed to live in perpetual terror. It lived gregariously in clusters, which must have numbered many hundreds each. The space between individuals seemed to be rarely more than an inch or two; but at the very frequent approach of an enemy the whole number huddled together in a dense mass, which appeared as a solid black patch a few feet below the surface. One day, when the water was without a ripple on the surface, we had a specially good view of an attack upon one of these clusters. Seeing the little creatures suddenly rush close together with their heads all pointed one way, we could not at first discover the cause. Presently a long, narrow fish, of the shape of a garfish, whose colour rendered him less distinguishable than the others, was seen moving gently backwards and forwards with his head always pointed at the cluster, which became more excited and more densely packed each time he came forward. Suddenly he made a dart into the mass, and was back again in his former place with such extraordinary rapidity that one of us who was watching did not see the movement at all. This proceeding was repeated several times until a ripple on the surface hid the scene from view. Doubtless he secured a victim each time, though this could not be seen with certainty. Fishes about the size of a small herring, also gregarious, were the prey of "sankers," which, like marine wolves, hunted in packs, and a tremendous splashing on the surface of the sea always indicated when their attack was delivered. It is to be hoped that fish are without the faculty of anticipating evil before it comes upon them, or the life of many of them must be indeed a misery.

PART OF NEW GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SUVA
(AFTER A YEAR'S OCCUPATION)

II.—*Face p.* 85

sentenced to banishment from their province for devil-worshipping. Neither this, or, indeed, any other religious eccentricity would have been a proper subject for Government interference, except when leading to disagreeable political consequences. This particular form of worship, like the Hauhauism of New Zealand, invariably caused much commotion among a peculiarly excitable people, and was not only in direct opposition to the lotu, but tended to create disaffection to the Government as well. For this reason it was necessary to remove from their homes the leaders of this cult until they had attained a saner condition of mind. They remained with us a year, and in that time the change in them was nothing less than extraordinary. When they came to us their features were inexpressibly repulsive, and they deserved no other description than that of ferociously scowling savages. When they left us, on the contrary, the fierce lines had disappeared, their faces had reverted to the benevolent type of the ordinary Fijian, their manners had become courteous, and they were in other respects civilised men.[1]

The new house having been built upon a site cleared of forest for the purpose, was closely surrounded by trees. These were a favourite resort of wild parrots, which in the early morning used to enliven us with their screeching, and in some measure recalled the cawing of rooks round an English country-house. We had a tame parrot, of the same species as the wild ones, which was of a very eccentric character. He was allowed to fly about as he liked, and occasionally stayed away some days, no doubt consorting

[1] I may mention that when we were at Nasova my wife superintended the gardening, and her chief assistants were three convicts, who had been sentenced to hard labour for murdering their wives, the death penalty having been thus commuted because the natives had not had time to learn that their ancient custom, which prescribed the killing of a wife by her husband for infidelity, was not permitted by British law. That these prisoners had simply followed a custom, and had not by nature tempers by any means ferocious, was shown by their complete docility the whole time they were with us and the touching and doglike affection which they showed for my wife when they left us on the expiration of their sentences.

with friends in the woods. This parrot took an unaccountable aversion for my wife's French nursery governess, and used to "go for" her on every favourable opportunity. He would remain quiet for hours on the top of a door, waiting for the girl to pass, and as she came underneath him would pounce down upon her head and "grabble" in her hair, causing her on each occasion a severe fright.

Of visitors staying in the house we had at Suva few by comparison with the numbers of such in other colonies. Captain Zembsch, the German Consul-General at Samoa, and various captains of ships-of-war, English and foreign, were with us for a few days from time to time. On one of the visits of H.M.S. *Nelson* we heard for the first time the hideous noise made by the siren of a large ship. The Fijian and other native servants thought the sound unearthly, and ran away. We could only imagine that a cow was dying in a neighbouring pasture, and were indeed surprised to learn that the noise proceeded from a ship situate nearly a mile off in the harbour.

Once I had been away in H.M.S. *Dart* to attend the Veibose held that year in the province of Macuata, on the north side of Vanua Levu. The officer who, in the temporary absence of the Commodore, was in command of the *Nelson*, then in the harbour, happening to be at Government House, my wife and he had a dispute as to who would first communicate to me the news, which had just arrived, that I had been appointed K.C.M.G. My wife caused to lie outside the reef, on the morning I was expected, a boat which shot rapidly out to me as soon as the *Dart* appeared on the horizon. But, alas for her, the British Navy has other resources. I was behind an awning having my morning bath on deck, when the commander of the vessel called out to me, "Can I come in, sir?" On my answering "Yes," he told me that the flagship, which was just visible some miles off, had signalled, "The Governor has been created K.C.M.G."

Cricketers will be interested to learn that the first intro-

duction of cricket to the natives of the Pacific occurred during my régime. Though the game had previously been witnessed by them in Fiji, they had never taken part in it. My private secretary, Amherst, a former member of the Harrow eleven, just before his breakdown having begun to teach the game to the Armed Constabulary, his successor, Edward Wallington[1] (who had formerly played for Oxford), continued the lessons with great success. The new amusement proved to be extraordinarily attractive; the liking for it spread throughout the islands, reaching even to Tonga, where it became necessary to pass a law forbidding play except on certain prescribed days of the week. It was at first difficult to make the Fijian chiefs understand that when they were "out" they ought not to take up the bat again as soon as they chose. Eventually they caught the spirit of the game and learnt to give the kaisi (plebeians) the equal privileges to which they were in this case entitled.

In one department of the game Fijians at once showed extraordinary proficiency. When a run was being attempted I have seen them again and again, after fielding the ball, hit the wicket from a long distance. This accuracy was probably acquired by the practice of a game of which they were very fond. Two men, standing about twenty-five feet apart, would alternately take shots at one another with unripe and very hard oranges. Though the man aimed at was allowed to evade being hit if he could, he rarely escaped, the missile striking his naked skin with a smack which could be heard at some distance. Though the blow must always have hurt, the slightest show of pain caused a general laugh in the spectators, so that it was displayed but rarely.

From the beginning of my second administration of Fiji my office of Assistant High Commissioner of the Western Pacific occupied a considerable portion of my time; for the High Commissioner being at a distance in New Zealand, much of his work and responsibility fell upon me in respect

[1] Now Groom of the Bedchamber to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.

of matters which required quick decision. When, in May, 1882, Sir Arthur Gordon finally left the Southern Hemisphere, my dormant commission as High Commissioner came into effect, and for the following three years I was solely responsible for the duties prescribed by the Pacific Islanders' Protection Act. These duties were rapidly increasing. For while the so-called kingdoms of Samoa and Tonga were giving about as much trouble as they had done for years previously, the appointment as deputy-commissioners of several specially active and energetic commanders of Her Majesty's ships occupied more and more of my time in dealing with their voluminous and interesting reports.

Outrages on the part of whites, and murderous retaliation on the part of natives, were continually occurring in the Melanesian islands, and though these cases were, speaking generally, admirably dealt with by the naval officers,[1] they revealed a defect in the powers of the High Commission which considerably impaired its usefulness. For the jurisdiction extended only to British subjects. These could be dealt with for offences committed against natives or against one another; but there was no means of punishing natives for outrages against white men, except by act of war. Thus, when a native murderer was caught and brought on board one of Her Majesty's ships, the captain had only the choice of hanging him at the yard-arm as an act of war or of bringing him to Fiji. When on one or two occasions the latter alternative was adopted, there was great difficulty as to the mode of disposing of the prisoner. To grant him practical impunity by returning him to his home would have been to encourage fresh outrage, and, on the other hand, there was no legal power to keep him a prisoner in Fiji. The difficulty was solved by treating such men as convicts; but there was always a

[1] The arduous and most disagreeable work of this kind, so well done by naval officers in the Western Pacific, as being entirely outside the line of their regular duty, I have always thought insufficiently recognised by the authorities at home.

fear that some busybody might obtain a writ of *habeas corpus*, in which case release must have followed, and in all probability an action for false imprisonment, promoted by one of the many enemies of the Government.

A description of the High Commission cases dealt with would require a volume to itself, and cannot be attempted here; but I mention one which revealed, perhaps, more than any other the ineradicable defects of the labour traffic.

The captain of a Queensland labour vessel, on the ground that certain natives of the Lachlan Islands (in the neighbourhood of New Guinea) had broken engagements made with his recruiters, burnt down three native villages, as well as the copra factory of a German suspected of being the cause of his disappointment. But for a demand on the part of Germany, the case would probably have never been heard of. As it was the Queensland Government awarded £550 compensation for the injury to the white man, and the captain and labour agent, the chief perpetrators of the outrage, were arrested in Australia on my warrants and sent to Fiji for trial. Facts elicited on this trial rendered it probable that the Queensland authorities were largely responsible for these irregular proceedings. Similar conduct on the part of another Queensland recruiting vessel had not been censured by these authorities; and even with regard to the case in question the Queensland Agent-General of Immigration had written to the offending labour agent, "There is only one comfort, you did nothing dishonourable or that you need in the least be ashamed of." Again, this labour agent had had his conduct tacitly approved when he had reported himself as having imprisoned several innocent natives as hostages to secure the surrender of their runaway friends, while a recruiter, whom he had dismissed for habitual kidnapping, was allowed to be engaged by another Queensland ship.

I know that my friend Sir Samuel Griffiths, when Premier of Queensland, did his utmost by means of stringent regula-

tions to check the abuses of this trade. But the captains of labour vessels, even if not paid head-money, were greatly interested in the success of recruiting, as upon it largely depended their re-employment. So there was strong temptation to obtain the object desired by false representations, actual kidnapping, and other illegitimate means. Many of the outrages upon white men were simply retaliation for such misdoings. The labour agents, who as public officers were supposed to control the acts of the captains, were practically not in a position to do so. I was inclined to doubt whether their functions in this respect were intended to be other than make-believe. The labour vessels being of very small size, the labour agent was obliged to mess with the captain, and it may be imagined what sort of life he would lead if he interfered with the latter's interest, or even if he were suspected of being a spy upon his actions. The captain's shortcomings, even when made known, seem to have been ignored by a department constituted mainly to secure a supply of labour.

Even the more legitimate method of recruiting was open to grave objection. Tempting presents would be given to the chiefs and others to induce the young men to engage, some of whom, as we knew, did so with extreme reluctance, and only under pressure.

Besides abuses in recruiting, there were others connected with the return of time-expired labourers to their homes. There was abundant evidence that the captains of vessels employed on this service, either unable or unwilling to take the time and trouble required to discover the precise locality from which the labourers had come, had landed them at a distance from it. Where, as in most of the islands, every petty tribe was at war with its neighbours, this proceeding would result in the killing and eating of the unfortunates thus dealt with. Sometimes, I admit, this untoward result occurred from no fault of the captain. For some of the recruits were not coast natives, and had probably never seen their point of departure from the sea except once in their

lives, and so would be unable after a lapse of years with any certainty to recognise it.

The stringent regulations recently made in Fiji, together with the gradual exhaustion of the ordinary recruiting grounds, finally rendered the trade so unremunerative as regards that colony that but for the illness which summarily cut short my career in Fiji I should have put an end to it altogether. I cannot say, therefore, with how much pleasure I lately learnt that the Australian Commonwealth, from whatever motives, has decreed the extinction of this traffic.

Perhaps the most important act of my administration of the High Commission was the regulation prohibiting, under a penalty of £10 for each offence, the importation of arms and ammunition by British ships into any islands of the Western Pacific which were not within the jurisdiction of a civilised power. This regulation, though afterwards approved by the home Government, was issued on my sole responsibility. The evils which were the consequence of the supply of arms to natives were even greater than those produced by the liquor traffic, which had already been prohibited. Not only, as was formerly the case in Fiji, had wars among natives been promoted and deaths enormously increased, but outrages upon white men had become more frequent as the means of committing them had become more ready to hand. At that time there was reason to suppose that foreign powers would join England in a policy of repression, and in fact, I believe that, with one exception, all the powers concerned expressed their willingness to do so. There was thus ground for the hope that if England set the example, all the others would follow suit. I left the Pacific soon after this regulation was passed, and it was not until more than a year afterwards, when I had gone to Newfoundland, that I heard of the final decision of the United States of America not to join in the prohibition. Feeling deeply interested in the subject, and recognising that the trade prohibited to British vessels would certainly be taken up by foreigners, I addressed a letter on the subject

to the United States Secretary of State, which was forwarded to him by our Foreign Office. In this I referred to all the evils which had, within my experience, resulted from this traffic, and pointed out how insignificant was the benefit derived from it as compared with the horrors which it caused. My effort, however, failed of effect, and I fear, therefore, that the object of my regulation has equally failed. For owing to the advantage which, in the absence of co-operation on the part of other powers, would be given to foreigners, its enforcement has probably been allowed to fall into desuetude. If this question had been generally understood by the American people, I feel sure that they would not have permitted their country to be the only civilised power holding out against the cause of humanity.

The kingdoms of Samoa and Tonga were as regards the British subjects residing in them within the jurisdiction of the High Commission. In the affairs of Tonga I took very little part, feeling from the first that interference was useless so long as Mr. Baker was allowed to remain there. This person had been originally the principal minister in the islands of the Australasian Wesleyan Missionary Society. Dissatisfied with his proceedings, they had removed him from that position, whereupon he set up a church of his own in bitter antagonism to that of his former employers. His influence over the old King seemed almost of a mesmeric nature; he had obtained the appointment of Prime Minister, in which position he seemed to pass any laws and to take any proceedings, however outrageous, which suited his interest. The various means by which he managed to exploit and intimidate the people of the islands would be incredible, but that they are described in official reports and in the Blue Books of the time.

At first I was inclined to agree with the opinion of Sir Arthur Gordon, that however objectionable Baker's rule, it was better than the anarchy which would probably result from his removal. But early in 1883 I became satisfied that his proceedings would not be tolerated by the oppressed

people much longer, and that a rising against him would sooner or later occur. Under these circumstances I determined to proceed myself to Tonga, and if my personal observation confirmed the above view, to exercise the powers given me by the High Commission, and deport Baker as a British subject dangerous to the peace of the islands.

Accordingly I wrote to the Commodore, requesting him to supply me with one of Her Majesty's ships for the purpose of carrying me on this service. Unluckily it happened that all the ships available for the purpose were away on duty, and it would have been impossible after their return to send one in time to get out of the dangerous belt before the end of the hurricane season. Having therefore to postpone the execution of my design for some months, I felt I ought to apprise Her Majesty's Government of it; and I accordingly did so, with the result that I received a telegram instructing me to forbear. Some years afterwards, when I happened to be at the Colonial Office, one of the leading permanent officials confessed to the wish that my advice had been taken, saying that they (the office) would thus have been saved infinite trouble. For in due time the troubles which I had anticipated, if Baker were allowed to remain, had actually occurred. Fighting had taken place, and he narrowly escaped with his life, some of his family, I believe, being wounded by bullets intended for him. He was finally deported by Sir John Thurston, acting as High Commissioner, and retired to New Zealand.

Whatever may have been his motive, Baker had at least in one respect been a benefit to Tonga by protecting the country against land claims on the part of Europeans, which elsewhere in the Pacific had been the cause of so much evil. The case was very different with Samoa. There an insane desire for arms in the wars between rival claimants to the Crown had caused the natives to sell their lands in the most reckless fashion, so that European claims, many of them overlapping, existed in respect of some 535,000 acres of land, or more than five-eighths of the whole surface of the

islands. Continual trouble was caused by these claims, one of which occasioned my visit to Samoa in 1883.

The natives having been aggrieved by the occupation on the part of a British subject of land which, as they asserted, he had never properly acquired, they adopted the strong measure of unroofing the house which had been built for him there, and ejecting the occupants. The King, Malietoa, either sympathising with the aggressors, or being without power to punish them, had taken no action in the matter; and as I felt that if acts of this kind were allowed to pass with impunity worse violence would follow, I determined to proceed to Samoa myself and to exact a penalty from the Government for the unpunished outrage.

Having accordingly obtained from the Commodore a ship-of-war for this purpose, I embarked in her in October, 1883. The ship was the *Diamond*, under the command of Captain Dale. Her boilers were apparently in a parlous condition, as the voyage occupied six days.

Arrived at Apia, I had a long interview with the King, in which, expressing sympathy with his position of weakness, I pointed out that it was nevertheless impossible to overlook such an outrage upon the habitation of a British subject. Even if he had no power to provide effective redress for the injury, he should have at least made an attempt in that direction. In conclusion, I informed him that though I must inflict upon him a penalty, it would be the lightest of which the circumstances admitted, namely, the payment of £100 within twenty-four hours as compensation for the damage suffered, any balance being left with the British Consul to supply comforts to the sick in hospital. At the same time, I explained that my action would in no way strengthen the title to the land of the claimant, which would, I hoped, soon be investigated by a competent court, constituted for the purpose of settling all European claims.

The King's fine was paid within the time specified. Great was my anxiety in the interval from the fear that

there might be inability to do so, and that I should be obliged to have recourse to reparation of a severer kind. My feelings on the occasion are thus expressed in my despatch to the Foreign Secretary,[1] reporting my proceedings.

"I cannot conclude this despatch without expressing to your lordship the extreme reluctance with which I levied this penalty upon these unfortunate people, who have had responsibilities forced upon them by the presence of Europeans which they have no means of adequately discharging. The poverty of the Government is such that even the small amount of the penalty could, I was informed, only be obtained by borrowing from a trader at enormous interest; and, apart from the fact that there cannot but be something humiliating to the agent of overwhelming power in exacting demands, however just, from weakness such as theirs, I could not but feel that the punishment of the chief offender, who had always been a supporter of the party opposed to King Malietoa, must have been a matter of extreme difficulty, while the outrage complained of was, after all, the result of error caused by the unprincipled act of a British subject. On the other hand, there was sufficient wrong on the part of the natives to render it probable that it would have led to greater excesses requiring much severer punishment if the matter had been passed over with a mere warning, and for this reason the exaction of some penalty appeared to me on the whole the more humane, as well as on other grounds the wiser course."

After the fine was paid, being in fear that its being levied would weaken the King's authority—already weak enough—I caused King Malietoa to be saluted when he came on board to return my visit—a courtesy which is held in high estimation by natives everywhere.

I will not dwell further on my visit to Samoa, nor attempt a description of the place. The graphic pen of Robert Louis Stevenson, who came to reside here in after years, has made all the world his debtor for a vivid portrayal of the scenery and people of these picturesque islands. In my time I heard

[1] My action was taken as Consul-General, an office held with the High Commissionership, but subordinate, not to the Colonial, but to the Foreign Office.

very unpleasant stories about the treatment of Melanesian immigrants by the German employers and of the prolongation of their terms of service on the most trivial grounds. Captain Zembsch, the German Consul-General, from whom we experienced some very agreeable hospitality, had shown by some of his acts that he had no sympathy with oppressors of natives; but I gathered that he was in a position of peculiar difficulty, which I forbear to specify.

With the officers of the German ship-of-war, then lying in the harbour of Apia, we had very friendly relations—all the more cordial on my part, as they expressed open repugnance to the doings of some of their commercial compatriots on shore. I shall never forget the hearty *Auf wiedersehen* which accompanied their hand-shakes at parting. German sailors by no means share the anglophobia which the malignant lies of a "reptile press" have during our recent war intensified in a large number of their countrymen.[1]

While in Samoa I saw, grown into a very fat woman, her who as a young girl so fascinated the late Lord Pembroke.[2] Probably, however, her enlarged figure did not detract from her beauty in native opinion. In the South Seas extreme obesity is held not to lessen, but to enhance feminine charms. It is said that a woman is there never considered perfectly beautiful as long as she can get up from her mat without assistance. Certain it is that most of the wives of great chiefs are more or less fat, some enormously so, and are admired on that account.

My action in this Samoan business was regarded by King Malietoa and the natives as only just, and my visit a conciliatory one. For only a few months afterwards I received from Malietoa a petition which he requested to be

[1] Among many incidents which have produced this impression I specially remember one, which could not but excite admiration. A race took place in Sydney harbour between boats of the English and German squadrons then at anchor there. An English boat won easily by many lengths, and though she was beating their comrades, the German crew of the ship, on which I witnessed the scene, gave her as she passed us a succession of hearty cheers.

[2] As recorded in *The Earl and the Doctor*.

forwarded to Her Majesty, in which he prayed the Queen "to put Samoa under her flag because of the visitors she had sent to him, and because he had heard that the other natives, white and black, which are under H.M.'s Government have happiness in this world, and have no more trouble or fear, but have peace in their lives."

When in England in 1816, at the request of Lord Rosebery, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I wrote a paper on Samoa for the use of his department. Giving reasons, now of little interest, why from an economical point of view the islands were never likely to be worth much to the outside world, I pointed out that the harbour of Pago Pago, the only part of them of substantial value to a civilised power, had for a long time been partly used as a coaling-station by the United States Government, which was not likely to permit its appropriation by another power. As regards the rest of the group, I pointed out that for years Germany had incurred far more expenditure upon it than any other nation, not only by cultivation, but by maintaining one or more ships-of-war continually in the island waters. On this account, and also because the very large area of land claimed by Germans would involve the payment of immeasurably larger compensation than had been conceded to German demands in respect of claims in Fiji, which were unquestionably bad, the difficulties in the way of annexation by England were very great. Yet annexation by some civilised power seemed to afford the only hope of putting an end to the condition of civil war and anarchy. For the triple control, which had been attempted in respect of the town of Apia, was even less likely to be satisfactory when applied to the whole country. For these reasons I concluded that the best hopes for the future of the islands lay in their annexation by Germany. Suppose a German administration established which was independent of commercial influences, the condition of the natives, if not a wholly enviable one, would at least be preferable to that existing.

I had to wait twelve years before the policy thus advocated was adopted by Lord Salisbury, who, on terms by no means unfavourable to England, permitted Germany to make this annexation. An end was thus put to the international wrangling about the islands which had sometimes threatened serious consequences.

My relations with the Navy, in connection with the High Commission and otherwise, were generally of a cordial character, and always harmonious, except in one instance.

Shortly before my arrival in Fiji in December, 1881, Captain X., arriving at Suva in command of one of Her Majesty's ships, committed for the second time a careless breach of our strict quarantine regulations. He was convicted of the offence before a stipendiary magistrate, who fined him £10. Commodore Wilson, urging that this fine would be looked upon as an insult by the whole Navy, asked me for a reconsideration with a view to total remission. I consented to reduce it by half, but no further, feeling that if this offender escaped all penalty we could never be secure in future against serious danger. The official correspondence between the Commodore and myself on this subject was of a somewhat combative character, but we continued during the whole of it an interchange of most friendly private letters, and remained on the best of terms up to the time of his death. He paid me a long visit when I was ill at the Sackville Hotel in London, in June, 1885, seeming in excellent health. But it was only very shortly afterwards that Her Majesty's Service lost a valuable officer.

CHAPTER XIII

Australasian Convention; my paper for its consideration on future of New Guinea and Polynesia—Go to Sydney; invited to sit in Convention, and reasons for acceptance—My despatch describing experiences in Convention—Secretary of State approves my action—Resolution of Convention embodying my views about Pacific annexations—My impression of members of Convention—The Federal Council Bill; a first step towards Confederation—Proceed to Melbourne—Lord Normanby's hospitality; his skill as a whip—Geniality of colonial hosts—Lord Rosebery; my opinion of him at the time—Lady Rosebery; her charity and thoughtful consideration.

IN the latter half of 1883 it became known in Fiji that a conference of the leading statesmen of Australasia was shortly to be held in Sydney to discuss matters of common interest, including the reported intentions of foreign powers to make annexations in the Pacific. Here was a useful opportunity for furnishing to the assembled statesmen some much-needed information about the objects and usefulness of the High Commission, and also for attempting to dispel prevalent ideas that the islands within its jurisdiction afforded a promising field for white colonisation. The occasion would also be a favourable one for urging that, in connection with any annexation which might take place at the suggestion of the conference, measures should be taken to prevent the outrageous proceedings for the acquirement of the native lands which had disgraced the early days of Fijian colonisation.

Under these circumstances, as three years of hard work had rendered absolutely necessary for health a holiday in a more temperate climate, I determined to obtain leave and to be present in Sydney during the sitting of the Convention, with a view to furnishing it myself with the desirable information.

What finally decided me was the published intention of the white colonists to send a deputation to Sydney with the expectation, encouraged by certain Australian statesmen, of being recognised as the representatives of Fiji. Without intending myself to become a member of the Convention, I prepared a paper for presentation to it containing my views on the subjects I have specified. This paper was entitled " A Memorandum on the Future of New Guinea and Polynesia, with Reference to the Question of Australasian Annexation or Protectorate," and was afterwards published in the colonial and the English Parliamentary Blue Books. Without burthening these pages with the full text it may not be amiss to give a short résumé of its contents, as it had, I am entitled to say, a not inconsiderable effect upon the future of the very wide area of the world to which it referred.

I strongly sympathised with the desire of Australasians to obtain control of New Guinea and the Western Pacific islands, so as to preclude the establishment there by foreign nations of depôts for convicts or purposes of war. I pointed out that these acquisitions, while useful for this purpose, would afford an extremely limited field for white colonisation. The damp tropical climate which is common to all the islands would preclude white labour, and afforded not the least prospect of success for cattle or sheep raising, except upon an extremely small scale. As regards agriculture, the prospects for white men were little better. The growth of produce for export would, except to an almost equally limited extent, be precluded in the first place by the labour difficulty, and secondly by the certainty that any considerable quantity of such produce could not be expected to find a profitable market.

As regards labour, it might be said of tropical countries generally that only in those with a population so dense as to render it difficult to obtain livelihood can labourers be induced to work in the neighbourhood of their homes with that regularity which is necessary for the success of agri-

culture; and it had been found by experience that the Western Pacific islands, being all, or nearly all, very thinly populated, furnished no exception to this rule. For this reason profitable planting would be only possible with the aid of labour imported under contract. The two great sources of supply for such labourers were India and China. None could be expected from the former, except in places like Fiji, where the Indian Government would have security for the good treatment of the people imported; and for other reasons China would be equally unfruitful in this respect, while only with the aid of large capital and under exceptional circumstances would planters be able in the Pacific to pay the high wages which would alone tempt either Indians or Chinese to leave their homes, not to mention that imported coolies had rarely, if ever, been found profitable except where it was possible to supplement their labour by that of free people on the spot.[1] For these reasons the islands would be almost wholly dependent upon themselves for imported labour. No doubt by the bribing of chiefs and other devices of the labour trade a

[1] With reference to this paragraph, it may be well to mention that, in so far as I can learn, the only planting enterprise on a large scale in the Western Pacific which has met with any marked success in the twenty years since this paper was written has been that of the Sydney Sugar Refining Company in Fiji. This company, with the command of very large capital, has been able to equip its factories with the latest discoveries in labour-saving machinery and with the means, also costly, of carrying on the best processes of extracting the sugar from the juice. This command of capital has also enabled the company to import large numbers of coolies from India, while its specially intelligent management has selected as the site of factories those parts of the colony where there are at hand considerable supplies of native labourers, who produce canes for the factories on their own account or are available on emergencies for the company's own production and manufacture. As this company is now in occupation of nearly all, if not all, the places in the colony where native labour is equally available, it is not probable that such success will be repeated, even if the other conditions should be satisfied which in the above paper I held to be necessary for profitable agriculture in the Pacific on anything beyond a comparatively insignificant scale. Sugar, mainly if not exclusively, produced for and manufactured by this company is now, and is likely to remain by far the principal export of Fiji, the others which *longo intervallo* are next in importance being fruits for the Australasian markets and copra for the manufacture of coconut oil.

certain number of people might be obtained by deporting "kanakas" from island to island. But this trade, as carried on by Queensland, Fiji, and Samoa, had already caused serious depopulation, so that those sources of supply were being rapidly dried up; and additional demands upon them would of course quicken the pace. Thus purely economic considerations were opposed to any further extension of this trade, though those of humanity pointed with equal force in the same direction. For without any possibility of effective Government supervision the lot of such labourers would be indeed a hard one, and it might be expected that their death-rate would greatly exceed even the enormously high rates which were unhappily normal both in Queensland and Fiji. The effect, therefore, of any extensive colonisation of the islands would be, in my opinion, that in no long time their population would be altogether extinguished.

Supposing, however, the above views to be incorrect, and that a sufficient supply of cheap labour were obtainable, the very limited demand of the world for imported tropical produce would preclude the possibility of securing a profitable market for the outcome of any greatly extended cultivation. It was on this account that many parts of the world, much more favourably situated as regards labour than the Pacific islands, and at least equally fit for all kinds of tropical agriculture, were cultivated only as regards a very small portion of their area. Such countries would inevitably win in the struggle of competition, and even a protected market for Pacific produce in Australasia, such as would be fatally injurious to tropical Queensland, would be of very slight advantage. For a single island of Fiji, if properly cultivited, could easily supply the southern colonies with all the tropical produce likely to be required by them, other than articles such as rice, which cannot be profitably grown for export except in the cheap labour countries of Eastern Asia.

For these reasons it was undesirable to encourage the

settlement in the islands of agricultural colonists, and the only reasonable hope of a prosperous future for them lay in the gradual civilisation of the natives, whose place, if they disappeared, was in a high degree unlikely to be occupied by others, and certainly not by white people. Such process would inevitably be a slow one, but in order to render it at all possible, land speculation on the part of white people should be discouraged, and all purchases from natives should be through the Government. For such purchases, if permitted to proceed unchecked, would inevitably be largely attended with the scandals which were connected with those of the early days of Fiji, and, besides other evils, would lead to troubles with natives, which in New Guinea and the larger islands would enormously increase the responsibility and expense of annexation.

With these views, then, I hoped to enlighten and perhaps influence the Convention.

After a week's voyage, in which I was accompanied by wife and family, I arrived at Sydney early in November. What took place there, and the circumstances under which I was induced to take the unprecedented step of accepting a seat in the Convention, are fully described in the following official despatch,[1] which, being written immediately after the events to which it refers, gives a better account of them than would now be possible.

"*December 18th*, 1883.

"My Lord,—Your lordship will probably desire from me explanation of the circumstances under which I, on the invitation of the delegates of the other Australasian colonies, accepted a seat in the Convention recently held in Sydney.

"2. Your lordship will remember that you sent a telegram to the Governor of New South Wales, requesting him to convey to me your instructions for the attendance of Mr. Thurston at the Convention for the purpose of giving information. That telegram crossed me on the voyage between Fiji and Sydney, and was received by Mr. Thurston as Administrator of the government during my absence.

[1] Published in Parliamentary Blue Book (3,863 of 1884).

"3. As the strength of the Fiji official staff had already been reduced to the very lowest point which is at all consistent with satisfactory conduct of the administration, and as Mr. Thurston knew that I should be present at Sydney during the sitting of the Convention, he in my opinion exercised a wise discretion in remaining at his post.

"4. Under these circumstances it became my duty to apprise the Convention of the position in which I was placed, and I accordingly addressed a letter to the President conveying the information that your lordship had authorised the representation of Fiji, but that circumstances had prevented the attendance of the officer delegated for the purpose; at the same time stating my intention to remain in Sydney and my readiness to give to the Convention all information and assistance within my power.

"5. By way of explanation of what follows, I should mention that for some weeks previously an unauthorised movement had been set on foot by Mr. Leefe, an unofficial member of the Legislative Council of Fiji, for the union of that colony with either New South Wales or Victoria, and, from circumstances which had come to my knowledge, I believed that there was an inclination to favour such an idea on the part of leading members of the Governments of both of the latter colonies.

"6. Assured that this proposal was not at all likely to be accepted by Her Majesty's Government, and at the same time feeling it desirable that none such should be made from any quarter which would render refusal inconvenient, I took advantage of visits paid to me by the Premiers of the three principal colonies to make known to them circumstances which, I think, had the effect of convincing them (if, indeed, they needed conviction) that the only prospect of Fiji becoming, or continuing to be, of commercial or other importance to the outside world lay in the maintenance of the present system of government, that the attempt of any Australasian Ministry to continue such a system would be a serious inconvenience to them and would in all probability prove a failure, and that the proposed union would thus be to the advantage of neither Fiji nor Australia.

"7. From two of these gentlemen I learnt that certain persons claiming to represent the colonists of Fiji, being about to request admission to the Convention, would be likely to press their claim at the first meeting, and I was also shown a petition from certain of the white inhabitants of Fiji (to which was attached another

petition from the same quarter said to have been forwarded to Her Majesty the Queen) complaining of the present form of government as prejudicial to their interests, and praying for the adoption of measures with a view to its alteration.

"8. Under the circumstances, while separately informing the Premiers that I was most willing to afford to the Convention all the assistance in my power, I added that I should of course be unable to do so if such a claim were admitted, or if the persons making it were in any way received as representatives of the colony.

"9. The reasonableness of this position was at once recognised by both of these statesmen; but it was nevertheless not difficult to see that the situation was one of some embarrassment to them. When therefore I was asked by one of the Premiers whether I should be willing to sit myself as the representative of Fiji, I replied that, though for various reasons my inclination was strongly against such a course, I would nevertheless accept the responsibility of taking it if the delegates should be of opinion that such information as they might desire from me could not be satisfactorily received from outside the Convention, or if the absence of an official representative of Fiji were in any way regarded as inconvenient.

"10. It thus happened that when, after these interviews, there was read to the Convention at its opening my letter referred to in the fourth paragraph of this despatch, it was forthwith decided by a unanimous resolution of the delegates to invite me to sit as the representative of Fiji.

"11. When taking my seat shortly afterwards, I availed myself of the opportunity to define my position. I said that while I felt precluded from voting, I was nevertheless ready to place my whole time and attention at the disposal of the Convention for the purpose of affording any assistance which might be consistent with my duty to Her Majesty's Government. I then referred to the petitions from Fiji which had already been printed among papers to be presented to the Convention, and said that, while I should not presume to offer any advice as to the course to be pursued with regard to them, and should offer no objection either to their reception or even to the permission of a hearing to the representatives of the petitioners, if the Convention should think fit to accord it, I felt sure that the delegates would recognise it as entirely inconsistent with my position as Governor to make any

reply whatever, or indeed to take any part having the least approximation to that of a defendant.

"12. The unmistakable tokens of approval with which this declaration was received showed me that I had correctly anticipated what would be the view of men accustomed to positions of responsibility, and I was at once relieved of all doubt as to the wisdom of the unusual step I had taken.

"13. Your lordship will observe from the minutes of proceedings that the course adopted with regard to the petition from Fiji was exactly such as I would have desired, and such, I am confident, as would be approved by your lordship, and thus one object of my taking a seat was fully attained. I had, however, another, and far more important one, in respect of which my success was even more complete, and far beyond what I had anticipated or even ventured to hope.

"14. This (also the principal object of my paper on the future of New Guinea and Polynesia, with reference to the question of Australasian annexation or protectorate, forwarded to your lordship in a recent despatch from Fiji) was that of convincing the leading Australasian statesmen, and through them the Australasian public, that further colonisation of the tropical islands in these seas is undesirable in the interests of Australasia, and that from any project of annexation or protectorate such purpose should therefore be excluded.

"15. Your lordship will no doubt have felt surprised that, while declining to vote, I should have expressed general concurrence with the resolutions of the Convention on the latter question. Under ordinary circumstances it would, of course, have been right for me to remain silent on such a subject; but it appeared to me in this case that, as the mind of all leading Australasians was practically made up on the principal points referred to in the resolutions, the frank expression of my individual sympathy, while adding no appreciable strength to them, would nevertheless be likely to obtain me a more favourable hearing with reference to the object which I had principally in view.

"16. In this spirit I took part in all the discussions upon the resolutions, directing my attention, not without a considerable share of success, towards rendering their words as little as possible irritating to foreign powers and inconvenient to Her Majesty's Government, and permitted the note referring to myself to be attached to them.

"17. Partly with a similar purpose in view, and also because I have a strong sympathy with the desire for federal union, I allowed myself to be nominated as a member of the committee appointed to consider and report upon the best means of instituting a Federal Australasian Council, and took an active part in framing the resolutions in accordance with which the Federal Council Bill was afterwards framed.

"18. Having by these means and by taking advantage of social opportunities made myself known to the other delegates, I at length brought forward my motion on the subject of land purchases in New Guinea and the Pacific, which appears in the minutes of the eighth day.

"19. When proposing the resolution in a speech of some length I dwelt strongly, and with all the earnestness of which I am capable, upon the serious moral responsibility which the Convention would incur towards the existing inhabitants of any territory which on their request should be annexed or protected by Great Britain, and I at the same time pointed out that a policy of immediate colonisation, while certain to be fatal to the natives, would in various ways be injurious to Australasia, and especially would add to the financial responsibility which it was undertaking for the repayment of the cost incurred in acceding to its wishes.

"20. While still speaking I learnt from frequent tokens of approval that my views were generally accepted, and when I concluded I was much gratified to find that my resolution, so far from being disapproved, was held not to go far enough in the direction desired.

"21. Under these circumstances I need scarcely say that I gladly formed one of a committee to draft a stronger resolution on the same subject, and in the event there was passed unanimously that which appears in the minutes of the last day.

"22. I trust that your lordship will agree with me as to the great importance of this resolution. While it will be incidentally useful in proving to the world that the objects of Australasia in desiring annexation or protectorate are simply those which are put forward, it will greatly lessen the responsibility of giving effect to the views expressed in the previous resolutions. It will, moreover, to an extent which can scarcely be appreciated in England, render more easy the task of the Imperial officers charged with the administration of any annexed territory in carrying out the only policy which would render annexation justifiable; and finally,

if no annexation or protectorate should be undertaken by Her Majesty's Government, it will not inconsiderably strengthen the hands of the High Commission in dealing with various embarrassing questions which are now pressing for attention.

"23. But apart from the attainment of the special objects which induced me to take my seat in the Convention, my ten days' daily contact with the leading politicians of Australasia has had an incidental advantage of, as I think, no small importance. Knowing that strong prejudices against the Government of Fiji had very naturally been created in the minds of some of them, not only by the continual attacks of the Press both upon Sir Arthur Gordon and myself, but by the personal representations of Fijian 'whites' and their friends, I seized all of the many opportunities afforded in private conversation to present the true aspect of the Government policy. That my efforts in this direction were not unsuccessful may be gathered from the fact that several leading members of the Convention have since acknowledged to me that I have entirely altered their views of the subject, not only of Fiji, but of the High Commission.

"24. They, moreover, believed that their changed opinion was shared by all the other delegates, and it may be mentioned, as an indication of this effect having been really produced, that when on the last day the self-styled representatives of Fiji were ill-advised enough to send to the President a second communication reflecting upon the part taken by me in the Convention, the delegates without any discussion resolved unanimously, not only to take no action upon it, but to exclude it from the minutes of the proceedings.

"25. As the opinions of the leading men of Australasia cannot but have much effect upon their surroundings, I expect that the Government of Fiji, continuing in the same line as at present, will for the future meet with sympathy where until now it has been regarded with disapproval, and will thus no longer experience that feeling of complete isolation which has hitherto weighed heavily both upon myself and my predecessor. And at all events the belief in such result will give me renewed courage to return to my irksome task in Fiji, and to contend with a combination of unfriendly influences which have at times almost led me to despair.

"26. While my presence in the Convention is thus, I trust, likely to be of service to Her Majesty's Government with reference

to the future administration of Fiji and of the High Commission, I have been gratified to find that the usefulness of this part taken by me has been generally recognised by the delegates. Several of them have at different times volunteered strong expressions with regard to the advantage derived from my presence among them, as to the value of the information which I had been able to furnish and as to the new light which I had thrown upon the important subjects under discussion. And lest your lordship, from being unacquainted with the gentlemen who used it, should regard this language as merely that of compliment, I may mention that much the same has been used more than once to Lord Rosebery, with whom, as the delegates were aware, I had but a very slight acquaintance.

"27. Finally, I feel bound to place on record my grateful sense of the invariable courtesy and consideration for my exceptional position which was shown to me both by the President of the Convention and all the other delegates. And I desire at the same time to acknowledge the benefit which I derived from my relations with them. If they learnt from me, I assuredly learnt as much or more from them, and the knowledge which I obtained of the minds of leading Australasians was such as would not probably have been acquired in any other way, and certainly not except within an indefinitely longer period. They plainly indicated, as well as expressed, loyalty to the British connection and their readiness to appreciate the difficulties of Her Majesty's Government; while the remarkable ability shown by nearly all of them in dealing quickly with difficult points, and their rapid comprehension and assimilation of the views of others, even when completely new to them, could not but excite my very warm admiration; and what with the pleasure thus derived, and the bearing of the whole Convention towards myself, the duty which I had expected to be irksome and painfully distasteful proved in fact to be a most agreeable experience. Indeed, if I should be so fortunate as to obtain your lordship's approval of my action, I shall not cease to regard my connection with this important Conference as among the pleasantest memories of my life.

"I have, etc.,

"G. WILLIAM DES VŒUX.

"The Right Hon. the EARL OF DERBY, etc."

To this despatch the reply of the Secretary of State was as follows :—

"DOWNING STREET,
"*February 8th*, 1884.

"SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, dated Melbourne, the 18th December last, explaining the circumstances under which you accepted a seat at the Intercolonial Convention held at Sydney in November and December of last year.

"I have read your despatch with interest, and have pleasure in assuring you that Her Majesty's Government fully approve your action.

"I have, etc.,

"Governor Sir WILLIAM DES VŒUX, K.C.M.G." "DERBY.

With regard to the official account of my part in the Convention which is given in the above despatch, I may mention that none of its statements have ever been impugned by any of the statesmen concerned, and have been specifically confirmed by more than one of them; and in connection with this subject I may mention that at a dinner given to me by some of the delegates Sir Graham Berry, (one of the representatives of a colony next to Queensland most in agreement with the Fiji malcontents and opposed to the High Commission), in the course of a complimentary speech proposing my health, said, "After listening to Sir William Des Vœux during the last fortnight, all I can say is that I should be exceedingly sorry if he came to oppose me at Ballarat!!!"

The resolution of the Convention which was passed at my instance was as follows :—

"That in the opinion of this Convention no purchases or pretended purchases of land before the establishment of British jurisdiction or dominion in New Guinea or other islands of the Pacific, not having a recognised Government, should be acknowledged except in respect of small areas of land actually occupied for missionary or trading purposes; and further, that after the establishment of such jurisdiction or dominion, no acquisition of land should be permitted except through the Crown, and then only for the like purposes."

Hon. Sir John Downer
Hon. J. Service
Rt. Hon. Sir W. Dalley
Author
Hon. Mr. Giblin
Hon. Sir A. Stuart
Hon. Sir M. Fraser
Hon. Sir J. F. Garrick
Hon. N. Brown
Hon. Mr. Kerferd
Rt. Hon. Sir S. Griffith
Hon. Sir J. Bray
Hon. Sir H. Atkinson
Hon. Sir F. Whittaker
Hon. Sir Graham Berry
Hon. Sir G. Dibbs

AUSTRALASIAN CONVENTION, 1883

(BY PERMISSION OF EDITOR OF THE "GRAPHIC")

II.—*Face p.* 112

This resolution embodies a policy which, I venture to think, is as right and expedient now as it was twenty years ago.

To the official account of my part in the Convention I have little to add. Any anticipation that my position in it might prove an uncomfortable one was dispelled at the very outset. When I entered for the first time the room where the Convention was sitting, the whole of the members stood up, and when after the President had announced their unanimous desire that I should take part with them as the representative of Fiji, the Premier of Victoria at once made room for me at the right hand of the President, and thenceforward during all the meetings I sat between the two Premiers of the two leading colonies.

The principal impression which I derived from the discussions of the Convention was that of the very great ability of the majority of its members. Partly perhaps owing to the absence of reporters, there was no attempt at oratorical display, of which more than one present was a master. Every sentence uttered was directly to the point at issue, and not a word seemed thrown away. Though opinions were naturally by no means wholly in agreement, the means of effecting a satisfactory compromise were always quickly found, and I doubt much whether any other body of men in the world would have been able in a shorter time to show a united front in the shape of resolutions touching upon such delicate subjects in a manner so able and at the same time so wholly free from reasonable objection. Nearly all of the members owed their positions to their ability and their force of character, without aid either from riches or family connection, and I venture to think that Australasia, even if its population had been ten times greater than it was, would have had reason to be proud of its democratic selection.

An idea of the ability which was brought to bear upon subjects of great difficulty may be gathered from the work done in connection with the Federal Council Bill. The

committee (in which I consented to take part) for considering this question was appointed at the end of a morning sitting of the Convention. Its task was, among many subjects suggesting possibilities of common action, to select those upon which the different colonies were likely to agree, and to prepare a draft measure providing for a Federal Council to deal with such selected subjects. After deliberation which occupied the whole of the same afternoon, the committee agreed upon, and reduced to writing, a number of resolutions which Mr. Griffiths (now the Right Hon. Sir Samuel Griffiths), the Premier of Queensland, put into the form of a Bill the same night. Before morning the Bill was printed, and it was presented to the Convention in less than twenty-four hours from the time when the committee was appointed. The Federal Council Act of the Imperial Parliament is, with very slight alteration, the same as the Bill thus rapidly prepared.

Though New South Wales, notwithstanding the concurrence of its representatives at the Convention, subsequently stood apart from the Federal Council thus originated, there can hardly be a doubt that the unpretentious measure, which caused delegates from all the other colonies to meet annually for joint deliberation, constituted an important step towards the complete federation of Australia, which is now happily accomplished.

Mr. Stuart and the New South Wales Ministers did much to make our stay in Sydney agreeable. On their invitation we took part in various excursions to the Blue Mountains, to the Hawksbury River, etc., and at the invitation of Mr. Barton,[1] the mayor, I attended a dinner given to Lord Rosebery, at which, in the course of a speech, I referred to my first meeting with him at Brooks's, as previously described.

We much regretted our inability to accept much of the hospitality kindly offered to us in New South Wales, but proceeded to Melbourne as soon as my business was con-

[1] Now the Right Hon. Sir Edmund Barton.

cluded, accompanying Lord and Lady Rosebery in the special car provided by the Government. At Albury, on the Victoria border, we changed into another special car sent by the Government of Victoria, and thus accomplished the long journey in great comfort.

The next few months spent in the colony of Victoria we look upon as one of the most agreeable periods of our life. Lord Normanby's hospitality, before referred to, was unbounded. His experiences in different Governments, as well as in England, furnished matter of constant interest; and as both host and hostess did their utmost to make us feel at home, giving us a suite of rooms which permitted of complete privacy when desired, we should have been only too glad to stay on at Government House. But at length, not without difficulty, I persuaded Lord Normanby that our case was one which warranted exception to his rule about Governors staying nowhere but at Government House, although even when we had gone to live elsewhere Lord Normanby did not diminish his courtesy.

Lord Normanby was a "whip" of no common order—an accomplishment which Australians value highly. He had achieved his special proficiency when in early life he had been quartered with his regiment—the Coldstreams—at Montreal, where there was at that time, and probably is still, a tandem sleighing club, whose tortuous excursions in the woods off the beaten tracks demanded very skilful driving to avoid disaster. It was Lord Normanby's habit when returning from a drive to enter Government House grounds by the back gate. This was so narrow, leaving only an inch or two outside the wheels, that even the hansom cabs usually went through it at a walking pace. He, however, turning sharply from the main road, took his four horses through it at a full gallop. Only once, out of the several times I saw him do this, did the wheels touch the gate. I was sitting on the box with him at the time, and he at once remarked in a sad voice, "That shows I am growing old; I have never done that before."

Lady Normanby never recovered from the illness which then attacked her, and died early in the following year. I saw Lord Normanby once or twice at Brooks's after our return to England in 1885; but the loss of his life's companion had entirely altered him, and he survived her only four years. There is no one whose acquaintance we made late in life for whose memory we cherish so warm a regard.

In Melbourne, after leaving Government House, we paid various pleasant visits to hospitable colonists—Sir William Clarke at Rupertswood, where on one occasion we witnessed the marriage of Mr. and Mrs. Ivo Bligh (now Lord and Lady Darnley), Mr. Rowan at Mount Macedon, Mr. Simpson at Leura, and last, but by no means least, Mr. (afterwards Sir) R. Baillie at Ognez. I may remark generally respecting these visits that we noticed in all that special geniality in the entertainment of comparative strangers which has been so frequently remarked as a peculiarly agreeable trait of colonial hosts. Probably this is partly due to the smallness of society as compared with that of older communities. But whatever the cause, having experienced it, we none the less accord to it a grateful recognition.

Lord and Lady Rosebery were at Government House for some days while we were staying there also. The future Prime Minister's social qualities are so well known that it is unnecessary to refer to them here beyond saying that he made himself liked by everyone in the house. As regards the public aspect of his visit to Australia, I wrote at the time as follows: "R. has something about his manner and way of talking which attracts sympathy to a very remarkable extent. Persons and classes ordinarily antagonistic are all united in praising him, and I doubt whether anyone has ever achieved such universal popularity in so short a time. Possibly his known love for racing has had some effect upon a people generally devoted to sport; but the chief factor in winning for him approval is his quickness in appreciating the point of view of those, from the highest to the lowest, with whom he comes in contact, and the air

of sincerity which accompanies all he says on serious questions. As an after-dinner speaker he is surpassed by none I ever heard. In fact, within my limited experience Lord Granville is the only one at all equal to him. Granville is the more genial of the two, but Rosebery says more that is worth remembering, and he intersperses the serious and pathetic with passages of humour which are all the more telling as being accompanied by a preternaturally solemn expression of face. He has evidently done much thinking on many subjects, has unusually broad and imperial views, and if he sticks to politics, as he now seems inclined to do, I predict for him a distinguished future."

Lady Rosebery was one for whom, after the ice of first acquaintance was broken through, one could not help having a great respect and liking. A cold manner concealed a really warm heart. It was easy to see that she was most devoted to her husband, and she did not attempt to conceal her pride in his successes. My wife, to whom she gave the opportunity of seeing the manner of her daily life, was, until she came to know her, surprised at the amount of time devoted by this woman of the world to acts of unostentatious charity. She was inundated with begging letters, and conscientiously investigated every case which had the appearance of genuineness, with the object of quietly relieving any which proved deserving of consideration. She was, moreover, not one who forgot the absent, and we were much touched on our return to Fiji when my wife received from her large parcels of new books, fresh from the press—the most welcome of all presents to exiles at a distance from home. In a visit some years afterwards to Mentmore, and on more than one occasion at Lansdowne House, we had the opportunity of seeing that to her merits as wife she added those of a devoted mother. Altogether she caused us to feel deeply the loss suffered by her premature death.

CHAPTER XIV

Wonderful rough-riding—"The Turf" in Melbourne—Horses running without shoes; a curious coincidence connected therewith—A memorable race—Suddenly recalled to Fiji by illness of daughter—Voyage thither and quick return to Australia—Amusing telephone episode (note)—Last voyage to Fiji—New Caledonia and its hospitable Governor—Abolition of capital punishment, its effect on relapsed criminals—"Il faut tuer quelque chose"—Startling incident on voyage—Birth of a son—Finally leave Fiji—Voyage home *viâ* New Zealand—Sir Henry and Lady Loch—A mysterious telegram and speculations caused thereby—Sad death of Lady Parker—Death of our infant in Red Sea—Scare about Russian cruiser—Homburg and the Empress Augusta—Lord Derby's appreciation of my services—Meet John Bright.

ONE day we witnessed in the grounds of Government House, Melbourne, a remarkable exhibition of rough-riding by members of the police force. Nothing I saw at Buffalo Bill's show in London was equal to it. The horses had all recently been brought to town from their wild life on stations, and were entirely untrained. Every one of them, as soon as mounted, struggled frantically to throw its rider. What is locally termed "pig-jumping"—that is, when the horse takes a series of short jumps with head and hind quarters so depressed as to make the saddle the centre of an almost Gothic-shaped arch—must be difficult enough; but to keep the saddle as we saw several men do, when the animals took flying jumps first to one side and then instantly to the other, was still more wonderful. Occasionally a horse, having failed in other efforts, would throw himself on the ground, when the rider with extraordinary activity would avoid being crushed, and as the horse instantly raised himself would be again as quickly in the saddle. We were told that a horse will sometimes

arch himself to such an extent that the saddle is worked off over his head and front legs without the girths being in any way loosened.

One word as to "the Turf" in Melbourne. Having been all my life fond of racing, though delicate health has caused me of late years to shun racecourses, and having never lost interest in the performances of horses, even when I was separated by thousands of miles from England and knew nothing of them but their pedigrees, I never missed an opportunity of seeing this sport as carried on in Australia. Melbourne has two racecourses, Flemington and Caulfield, each of them excellent. Though they do not, of course, possess the variety of gradient for testing the quality of horses which constitutes the special excellence of Newmarket, Flemington is equal in most respects to any other course in England. The horses, all descended from English thoroughbred stock and almost all of unexceptionable pedigree, appeared generally trained to perfection, while in this respect, in the "get-up" of jockeys, the arrangements for starting, weighing, etc., there seemed to be nothing to be learned from England. The starting seemed to be freer from mistakes than any I have ever seen. But while equal in other respects, the arrangements were certainly superior to ours as regards the comfort and pleasure afforded to spectators. I never had the good fortune to see the Melbourne Cup, but I have heard it said that every one of the 100,000 who gather for that race may actually see a considerable portion of it. If so, it is what cannot be said of any course in England, where the great majority of those who are not upon stands or specially favoured spots see the horses only for a few seconds in passing.

The stewards of the races treated the Governor with the utmost courtesy, and provided for him each day an excellent luncheon for twenty, to which he could invite anyone he pleased. When once or twice Lord Normanby, owing to his wife's illness, was unable to attend and deputed

me to go in his place, the same courtesy was extended to me.

One peculiarity of Australian racing would at once strike an Englishman. The horses almost invariably run without shoes, and when in galloping shoes are visible, it is, I was told, evidence that the horse wearing them is merely running for exercise, and is not intended to win.

In connection with this shoeless running, while on a short visit to England from Newfoundland in 1887, I went to Kempton Park to see the race for the Jubilee Cup, won that year by Bendigo. Being engaged to dinner in London, rather than wait for another train, I rushed into one already moving. The compartment was a third-class one nearly full of men, mostly of a very horsey appearance. An acquaintance (Lionel Tollemache) had followed me into the carriage, and when talking to him of the Australian practice above referred to, I mentioned that during one of my visits to Australia Mr. White, the owner of the largest and most successful racing stable there, had told me of an occurrence in which he had taken part some years before at a Sandown Park Meeting. Two horses had run a dead heat, when on his advice the owner of one of them, with whom he was acquainted, caused the shoes to be taken off his horse for the deciding heat, with the result that he won easily. My voice being louder than I had intended, reached others in the carriage, when one of them exclaimed, "Quite true, sir; I rode that horse, and his name was Marden!"

Australian steeple-chasing is not, in my opinion, on a par with the racing "on the flat." The courses are too completely artificial, fences and water-jumps being all made for the occasion; and the former constructed of solid logs, which when touched ensure a bad fall, are too perilous both for man and horse. No doubt the excitement of spectators is thus increased, but it is not of a kind for which I care personally.

One race on Flemington I specially remember, as though

very few horses started, they were specially good ones. It was for the Champion Stakes, and only two of the competitors were deemed to have a chance, Commotion, who had been a frequent winner, and Martini-Henry (a son of the well-known imported stallion Musket), who had won both the Melbourne Derby and the Melbourne Cup. The latter was favourite, and his owner, Mr. White, had endeavoured in vain the night before to find a taker for a bet of £5,000 to £2,500 *on* him. Just before the start an old turf *habitué* said to me, "Depend upon it, Martini will be beat; no descendant of Caton" (whose progeny up to that time had not been remarkable for stamina) "can stay a three-mile course!"

Commotion and Martini went off at a cracking pace from the start, and raced as though there were no others in it. In consequence they, before the finish, were run almost to a standstill, and an outsider, Le Grand, belonging to Mr. Donald Wallace, won easily. If the above remark about the descendants of Caton be generally correct, as it certainly was in several instances, one of them, Carbine, another son of Musket, has proved to be an exception to the rule by winning several long-distance races. Now that he is in England it may be hoped[1] that he will prove to be the sire of many stout horses, to repay the enterprise of the owner who imported him from Australia.

In March, 1884, while still in Melbourne, we received from Fiji the alarming news that our little girl, whom we had left in charge of Dr. MacGregor, was dangerously ill of gastric fever and was scarcely expected to live. My wife being too ill to undertake the journey, I determined to go myself, and arrived at Sydney just in time to catch the steamer for Fiji. At Noumea, New Caledonia (where I stayed a night with the hospitable Governor), my anxiety was somewhat relieved by better news; and when I reached Fiji, a week after embarking, she was out of danger. By Dr. MacGregor's advice, I carried her with her excellent nurse

[1] Since this was written the hope has already been to some extent realised.

back to Australia by the returning steamer, so that I was in Fiji only four days.[1]

In the following June, after a stay of three weeks in Sydney, we embarked again for Fiji. Though the Australian climate had, on the whole, considerably renovated us, none of our party, except Wallington, who had had but a short spell of Suva life, were in a state of health approaching robustness, and I cannot say that I looked forward with pleasure to the renewal of my work in Fiji.

Governor Pallu de la Barrière and his wife, whom I visited at Noumea, New Caledonia, on three occasions, were wonderfully cheerful under what would be to most people very depressing conditions. For their servants were all, or nearly all, convicts, who indeed constituted the great majority of the white population of the colony, and were, many of them, relapsed and hardened criminals. Only a short time before the gardener at Government House had been assassinated, and immediately before our arrival, a little girl had been murdered in the neighbourhood without any apparent object for the crime. The murderer, who had been convicted several times of similar offences, being asked what was his motive, said, I was told, simply, "Il faut tuer quelque chose." The cool hardihood of this reply is to a certain extent explicable from his feeling of certainty that he would meet with no punishment. Owing to the over-humane policy of President Grévy,

[1] On this occasion I arrived at Suva quite unexpectedly and went to Government House early in the morning, when very few were aware of my presence in the colony. I "rang up" the Colonial Secretary's office upon my telephone, and according to the account given in the Australian papers (which I give from memory), this is what occurred. Governor calls "Holloa!" Reply: "Yes." Governor: "Who's there?" Reply: "Boo." Governor (more loudly): "Who's there, I say?" Reply (also more loudly): "Boo." Governor: "Be good enough to answer the Governor properly. What is your name?" Reply: "Boo." Upon which, according to the report, the Governor's language became more forcible than polite, and the interview ended. Except as regards the strong language, to which I do not plead guilty, the account was in the main correct. It turned out that the speaker at the other end of the wire was a newly-arrived cadet, of the name of Booth, who had been vainly endeavouring to convey his real name.

capital punishment had been abolished, and when this criminal had been found guilty, the sentence passed upon him was merely an additional term of penal servitude, his previous commitments being, I was told, already for an aggregate of over a hundred years! In any case, as the man was already undergoing the severest form of punishment legally permissible, he could commit further crimes with absolute impunity.

Judging from the countenances of the few natives I saw, the French system of governing them is not pleasing to them. Their countenances indicated sullenness and timidity, and there was a marked absence of the cheerful expression which is so general with Fijians, and which caused wondering remark to several foreigners who at different times were visiting us.

Driving with the Governor in the neighbourhood of Noumea, I observed that he had planted "flamboyant" trees all along the roads—an example well worthy of imitation in some of our own colonies. By this time the gloriously coloured blossoms of these trees must for some months of the year present a splendid sight.

On the voyage to Fiji there occurred the following curious incident. I had retired to my berth early, and about ten o'clock, when fast asleep, I was awoke by a heavy weight falling upon me. Instinctively I shot out my arms, and thus hurled against the partition what proved to be a big sheep. The wretched creature having managed to escape from confinement, had been pursued all over the ship, and had finished his mad career in my cabin. There he was at once secured and carried off; but the unpleasantness of the incident was not at an end for myself. The poor creature had evidently been scouring with its wool the dirtiest parts of the ship, and this must have been soaking with every kind of abomination. No amount of cleaning seemed to produce cleanliness, and for the rest of the voyage the charms of "between decks" in the tropics were heightened by odours which afforded the utmost possible contrast to "the spicy breezes which blow o'er Ceylon's isle."

The last six months of my administration of Fiji were without events deserving of special record. The virulence of the discontented portion of the community was, if possible, greater than ever owing to the defeat of their representatives at Sydney and the displacement of their favourite judge, which was also laid at my door. While this, together with the greater activity of the naval captains in the discharge of their duties as deputy-commissioners, caused my work to be specially severe, I was within a few weeks of my return to Suva in a worse condition for coping with it. I was attacked by a wearing and painful disease which compelled me for nearly four months to both write and eat lying down; and this experience of the recumbent position at meals rendered me more than ever unable to conceive how the ancient Romans and the Egyptians before them could have regarded it as luxurious.

Under these circumstances and others of a domestic nature, I determined reluctantly to ask for leave to go to England with my family. This being obtained, we had intended leaving by the Sydney steamer in February; but when the date of departure arrived, my wife was too ill to be moved, and so we actually left Fiji, for the last time as it proved, by the following steamer for Auckland, this route involving a voyage round New Zealand to enable us to catch at Melbourne the P. and O. boat in which we had taken passages.

At Dunedin we witnessed the curious spectacle presented by an apparently endless procession of white-shrouded corpses which were being carried to a great steamer for transport to England. These corpses, I hasten to add, though there was little to betray the fact, being not of men, but of sheep frozen to a stiffness even greater than that of death.

In my many voyages I have seldom seen a rougher sea than that experienced south of New Zealand and on the passage across to Australia. The absence of all cargo caused our ship to tumble about like a cork. Our little

girl, after bearing the infliction for two days, at last made the piteous exclamation: "Oh, the ship does a-rolly-y me."

At Melbourne, before starting homeward bound, we stayed two nights with Sir Henry and Lady Loch, who, having succeeded the Normanbys in the occupation of Government House, kindly offered us hospitality. Sir Henry (afterwards Lord) Loch had a character to command high respect, while his manner and amiability would easily inspire affection. As a Governor of a Constitutional Colony he could hardly be surpassed, especially as he was aided by a wife who in reality, as well as appearance, was specially fitted for the position. Whether he was equally fitted for the High Commission work which attaches to the Governorship of the Cape is a question which I forbear to discuss. There have been few, if any, men so little known to me for whom I had a greater regard and whose death I so much regretted.

As our ship was entering the passage which connects Port Philip Bay with the ocean, a telegram was brought on board for Wallington, who was accompanying us to England. It proved to be from Lord Rosebery in England, who desired Wallington to go and see him as soon as he arrived at home. In the event it turned out that Lord Carrington, just appointed Governor of New South Wales, had accepted Lord Rosebery's recommendation of Wallington for the position of his private secretary. He has, I understand, filled that position with credit to himself on the staff, not only of Lord Carrington, but of several other Australian Governors, Lord Hopetoun having appointed him a second time on becoming the first Governor-General of United Australia; and he has recently been appointed to the Household of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales.[1]

[1] Mr. Edward Wallington having visited Fiji in 1879, on a voyage round the world, had returned to Europe, when, in 1883, having been deprived by illness of the whole of my personal staff, I offered him my private-secretaryship by telegram from Australia. He at once accepted, and in that position had for two years served me admirably.

Our voyage as far as Ceylon was a pleasant one, and was in specially agreeable contrast with our previous experience of the Indian Ocean, both as regards the comfort of the ship and the society of those who were our fellow-passengers, some of whom have remained our friends until now.

In the same hotel with us at Colombo was Lord Parker and his wife. Lady Parker was very ill and suffering, and though she managed to dine with us, it evidently meant a great effort, and her talk indicated a recklessness, begotten of despair about ever being well again. Both she and her husband complained bitterly of the noise made on board their ship by some eighty children who had come on board with them at Calcutta, and being most of them in charge of ayahs, were out of all control. Both of them begged me to do my best to get them a passage on board our ship, which was leaving shortly after theirs and going also to London. But the *Shannon* had, unfortunately, no vacant cabin, and all I could do for them was to obtain the promise of one as soon as we arrived at Aden. As we entered the latter port some five days afterwards a message from Parker was brought to me containing the sad news that his wife's sufferings had ended some days before.

Even this, however, was not to be for us the most painful incident of a voyage which had commenced so auspiciously. For our infant boy (born in Fiji only a few weeks before our departure), who, though he was decidedly better for some days after leaving Melbourne, was very ill in crossing to Aden, became worse in the Red Sea, and died as we were entering Suez Harbour. No one who has not had a similar experience could completely realise what my wife went through in many nights of painful watching and nursing, the fatigue and misery of which were aggravated by the intense heat, and were not lessened by the kindly intended inquiries, repeated in some cases several times a day, of several scores of passengers.

At Malta we spent a pleasant day with our friends the

John Hays (he being at the time Naval Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean). At Gibraltar we heard rumours of immediately impending war with Russia, and special excitement was caused on our ship by the news that a Russian cruiser was hovering in the neighbourhood, with the apparent intention of pouncing upon us. We were carrying, I believe, some £200,000 in specie, so that we should have been a prize worth taking. However, perhaps only because peace was preserved, we were not molested. But the day of leaving the Rock was not to pass without another form of excitement; for just as it was getting dark my wife and others sitting on the deck were startled by a large schooner passing so close that, as described to me, one might almost have jumped on board of her. It seems that, owing to panic or bad look-out, she had, when only two hundred yards away, suddenly altered her course and made straight for us, and so had an extremely narrow escape from either being run down or making an end of us.

Though arriving in England, all of us, with health improved by the voyage, I had been there only a few weeks, when a cold brought on bronchitis and congestion of the lungs, so that the best two months of the London season were passed as a prisoner to my bedroom at the Sackville Hotel.

In August, by our doctor's advice, we went to Homburg for a cure, which, however, did not prove of much benefit to any of us. The only event worth recording which occurred to us at that place was our entertainment at the Schloss by the Empress Augusta of Germany. Her Majesty had honoured us by an invitation to tea, and when we were presented by Countess Olga Munster, whom we had known previously in London, Her Majesty addressed me as follows: "You have come from far off, Sir William." To which I replied, "Yes, ma'am, from the other end of the world." "Are you going back again?" Hesitating a moment, I said, "Very possibly, though I am not without hope of obtaining work nearer home." On this, in a specially majestic

voice, which sounded much like a rebuke, Her Majesty said, "No doubt you will go anywhere where your Queen and country desire your services." Apparently I had seemed to her to fall short of her high standard of duty by a disposition to shirk work imposed upon me because it was disagreeable; but however this may have been, my emphatic "Of course, ma'am," evidently satisfied her, and she in a much more kindly tone said, "Your name is very familiar to me, Sir William," and, on my bowing, she quickly added, "There was one of the name, many years ago, at Dresden. Was he any relation of yours?" On my telling her he was my father, she said in a still more kindly tone, "Oh, I knew him very well." After she had spoken a few pleasant words to my wife about our life, the interview ended, and another visitor was brought up. The clearness and activity of brain evinced by the old Empress was really marvellous when considered in conjunction with her extreme infirmity of body, which, from various indications, was only too plainly visible. I may mention that at least forty-five years had elapsed since she could have seen, or probably heard of, my father.

We took a house for the following winter in Lennox Gardens, almost, I believe, on the very spot where, only five and a half years before, I had witnessed a lawn-tennis match between the then champions, E. Lubbock and Captain Lawford. In the interval what had been Prince's Cricket Ground had become occupied by some scores of houses.

My reception by the permanent officials at the Colonial Office had, as usual, not been such as to indicate any particular approval of my work; but an incident which occurred during the spring of 1886 removed all doubt as to the opinion of the Colonial Minister who had seen the records of my most trying experiences. Being one of a large party at the table of the late Lord Derby in St. James's Square, our host on introducing me after dinner to the late Duke of Bedford (Mr. Lecky and the present Lord Stanley being close by), said: "Sir William has lately come home from

Fiji, where he has had specially difficult work, and has done it, I believe, as well as man could do." Though Lord Derby, had he been still in office, would not probably have expressed himself so effusively, and though the praise was far more than I deserved, it nevertheless gave me particular pleasure as a recognition of labours which I had imagined to be not altogether appreciated.

In talking to the Duke of Bedford afterwards, he said: "My cousin was under you out there, wasn't he?" and on my replying, "Yes, though he was rarely less than a thousand miles from me," asked, "Have you read his book?" adding, "Travellers' stories, I suppose?" The individual in question had the reputation of drawing a very long bow, of which the Duke had evidently heard; but I took his part in this matter, saying in effect that an account of scenes in Melanesia would require no "embroidery" to render it horrible and startling.

During one night at Lord Rosebery's, who was then occupying Lansdowne House during the absence of its owner in India, I had the pleasure of meeting again John Bright, after an interval of nearly thirty-six years. When staying for a few days in an hotel at Rhyl, in North Wales, in the autumn of 1854, I had on several occasions played at billiards with him, which he at once remembered when I reminded him of the interest taken by him at the time in an election for some place in Somersetshire. The contest was between the eldest son of a peer and a tailor, and I had specially remembered the emphatic expression by Mr. Bright of a desire that the tailor should win. The tribune of the people was, however, disappointed, and the aristocrat won. If I am right in thinking that the latter was Lord Dungarvan, Mr. Bright lived to be a Cabinet Minister in a Government of which Lord Cork was also a member, as Master of the Buckhounds.

NEWFOUNDLAND

NEWFOUNDLAND

CHAPTER I

Trouble about Governorship of Newfoundland; apply for, and receive the appointment—Philanthropic societies present an address—Voyage to Newfoundland; pass through ice-field—Cool reception at St. John's—Efforts to conciliate opposing sects—Catholics enter Protestant Ministry—Résumé of fishery question—Arrangement with French about fisheries disapproved by colonists—Am myself converted to their view—Support Bait Bill—My despatch approved by *The Times*—H.M.'s Government disallow the Bill, but allow it the year following—French lobster factories.

EARLY in 1886 a vacancy occurred in the Governorship of Newfoundland, and the Colonial Minister nominated for the appointment Sir Ambrose Shea. This gentleman being a native and resident of Newfoundland, such an appointment was unprecedented. Nevertheless it might not have been open to objection but for the fact that Sir Ambrose was a very active party politician, and had recently been returned to the Legislative Assembly as the chosen leader of a Catholic minority, the election having been fought strictly on sectarian party lines. The Ministry were exclusively Protestant, and this elevation of their principal opponent naturally produced a strong remonstrance, as the result of which Sir Ambrose felt compelled to forego the appointment.

Our oldest colony had for a long time past been distracted by religious dissensions, which only a few months before had resulted in bloodshed. Protestants (who in large numbers belonged to Orange lodges) and Roman Catholics

were as actively antagonistic as in Ireland; and this mutual bitterness would almost certainly be increased by Shea's nomination and the action which had compelled him to withdraw his acceptance.

Under these circumstances the position of the Governor now to be appointed was not likely to be an easy one; but this prospective difficulty was to me rather an attraction than otherwise. I felt confident I could bring about a better feeling between the rival sects if the opportunity were given me, and in seeking this I was doubtless somewhat moved by the feeling that if I achieved so happy a result, the promotion, which I flattered myself I already deserved, could not be much longer delayed.

And so, though the acceptance of this office would involve to me a loss of £1,700 a year, I applied for it, was appointed, and soon afterwards gazetted, as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Newfoundland.

When this gazette appeared, I received the very unexpected intimation that the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Societies in combination desired to present me with an address. Though my views on the subject of protection to native races were generally in cordial accord with theirs, they were not in such complete agreement as would have rendered me altogether free from embarrassment with regard to this kindly offer, had I been proceeding to a colony where there were any marked race distinctions. But the population of Newfoundland being exclusively "white," I felt that I might, without impropriety, accept the proffered honour. Accordingly, in the presence of the members of these societies, a highly complimentary address was presented to me by Mr. Walter James (now Lord Northbourne). The speeches on the occasion afforded me the greater pleasure, inasmuch as I was quite unaware that my career in distant colonies had been so closely followed by anyone in England. I could not but feel intense gratification in the discovery that my long struggle against injustice and oppression, together with what I had secured for the cause of

humanity at the Australasian Convention, was recognised by my countrymen at home.

I left England with my family in April, by the first direct steamer of the year. Our voyage to St. John's was not to be devoid of excitement. Two days before our arrival in port we entered extensive ice-floes. Fortunately the sea was calm, or our position would have been a dangerous one. For we were kept awake at night by tremendous thumps from great blocks of ice; and as the ship, the *Caspian*, was an iron one, it is difficult to imagine that the thin casing which separated us from the water would have remained intact had these battering rams been propelled by the waves of a storm. During the day some of the blocks seemed to make persistent plunges at the screw. This, we believed, had miraculously escaped damage, and it was perhaps fortunate for the more nervous among us that only after our arrival did we learn that one of the blades had been broken off.

As we approached the land the ice closed upon us more and more, and a large crowd of people, collected upon the hill overlooking the harbour of St. John's, were in considerable doubt whether we should get through. We escaped just in time. For only an hour or two after our arrival in port the harbour we had entered was filled with great blocks of ice, the size of which may be gathered from the accompanying photograph taken at the time.

Though my official reception from Sir Frederick Carter, the Chief Justice, who had been acting as Governer during the vacancy, and from other leading colonists was all that could be desired, I met with a very cold welcome from the people of St. John's. This no longer surprised me when I learnt that they were Sir Ambrose Shea's constituents, and that that gentleman had a few days before, at a great public meeting, denounced in exceedingly strong language the Protestant intrigues which had deprived him of the Governorship, making a specially violent attack upon the Premier, Mr. Thorburn. I still possess a report of this speech made

from notes taken by one who was present, but I must resist the temptation to reproduce some of its amusing passages, as to do so might assist to revive the sectarian animosity which since I left the colony has happily been, comparatively speaking, quiescent. As I was looked upon as the gainer by the so-called intrigues, the task which I had set myself of calming the troubled waters of politics promised to be specially difficult.

Within a day or two after landing and being duly sworn into office, I had an opportunity of commencing this task. On laying the foundation stone of a new Wesleyan college, during a heavy fall of snow, I dwelt in my speech strongly upon the unnecessary element of discomfort which had been introduced into the life of the colony by religious differences, and made a strenuous appeal for charity to those who, whether their beliefs were mistaken or not, held to them with as firm a conviction as that which attached Protestants to their own faith. In conclusion, I expressed a hope that my tenure of office in the colony would prove to be the beginning of a new era of sectarian peace.

During the ensuing year I continually harped upon the same theme on every favourable opportunity to all the sects—Roman Catholics, English Episcopalians, Methodists, or Presbyterians. I quickly recognised, however, that the greatest bar to intersectarian amity was that the political parties were at the time divided strictly on religious lines, and that the first step towards improving this state of things was to bring about a reconciliation between the Premier and Sir Ambrose Shea.

With this object I attempted a bold experiment. I invited both of them to dinner for the same evening, each being ignorant that he was to meet the other. At first my project did not seem to promise well; they entirely ignored one another. Gradually, however, I managed to draw both into the same conversation, and, the ice once broken, there was no subsequent frost. Before we separated that night they were talking to one another as though all recent occur-

OUR STEAMER IN ICE-PACK, ENTERING HARBOUR OF ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

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rences had been forgotten, and at parting I had the extreme satisfaction of seeing them shake hands.

At meetings of the Executive Council, and in interviews with individual ministers with the same object, I rarely missed a favourable opportunity of quietly suggesting how unfortunate it was for the colony that parties were divided on religion as well as politics, at the same time venturing sometimes privately to hint that, apart from religion, there was really no serious difference between the existing Government and some of the leading members of the Opposition. Soon I was happy to learn that these suggestions had borne fruit, and in scarcely more than three months from the date of my arrival in the colony the hitherto exclusively Protestant Ministry took in two Roman Catholic members.

Another step towards the desired reconciliation was taken two months afterwards, when the Ministry appointed Sir Ambrose Shea as Commissioner on behalf of the colony to confer with the Secretary of State on the subject of the celebrated Bait Bill, this appointment being followed by his being recommended to Her Majesty's Government as the most proper person to represent the colony at the contemplated Conference at Washington on Fishery Questions.

One proceeding of mine, taken with the object above referred to, I have good reason for believing had at least some effect towards achieving it, at least as far as the Roman Catholics were concerned. Though brought up as a member of the Church of England, I attended occasionally, not only Wesleyan services, but those of the Catholic cathedral. I did this, I am bound to say, solely for a political purpose, and in order to show that I had no implacable hostility to any form of Christian faith. I held, and still hold, it as probable that all forms of religion are more or less mistaken; and while I condemn all alike in so far as each anathematizes others, I feel that all conscientious conviction which does not outrage feelings of humanity is entitled to respect. Having for the above reasons no religious repugnance to

attendance at services other than at what was supposed to be my own church, I in this case regarded it as a political duty, which I performed as such.

But whether or not this proceeding had any effect in bringing it about, the end desired was to a great extent attained within less than ten months after my arrival. For on the 8th February in the following year I had the satisfaction of forwarding to the Secretary of State a letter from the Catholic Metropolitan Bishop of St. John's, in which he referred in the most complimentary terms to the manner in which I and "my accomplished lady" had most successfully striven to heal the religious differences of the colony; and I mentioned at the same time that the leading Wesleyan ministers, on my opening the college (of which I had laid the foundation stone only about seven months before), had made similar recognition of the success achieved in this respect.[1]

At the very outset of my tenure of the Governorship of Newfoundland (I cannot say of my administration, for the Governor of a Constitutional Colony "administers" only in name), I was brought face to face with the Fishery Question, which has for centuries past been the principal one of Newfoundland politics. Subject to its ratification by the colonial Legislature, there had been made with France an arrangement which was intended to settle for ever the long-standing differences between that country and England on the subject of the, sometimes wrongly termed, "French shore" of the island, and on matters kindred to it. The question of this shore (which for the sake of convenience I shall call "Treaty shore") is now a familiar topic, having engaged the pen of many writers. In default of other matters of international gravity and interest, it is constantly brought upon the tapis; but while very few have

[1] I may mention that Sir Henry Holland, in reply to this despatch, expressed himself as glad to hear that my efforts had been so successful. Presumably he had forgotten this circumstance when two years afterwards he made a speech in the House of Lords, inferentially attributing this credit to my successor.

THE HARBOUR, ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND
(SHORTLY AFTER OUR ARRIVAL)

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succeeded in mastering it in all its bearings, there are still many thousands of Englishmen who do not understand it at all. To such of these as may be my readers, let me present what I conceive to be the gist of the case, indicating therein the circumstances which rendered some arrangement desirable.

Previous to 1713, France having been in possession of a small part of Newfoundland, French fishermen had plied their vocation near and upon a long stretch of then uninhabited coast, using the shore for drying and preparing their fish. By the Treaty of Utrecht in that year France resigned to England the dominion of the whole island, the liberty being, however, reserved to her fishermen to catch fish and dry them on land from Cape Bonavista on the east coast round the north of the island to Point Riche on the west coast.[1] But in the exercise of this liberty the French were not to be permitted to erect any buildings "besides stages made of boards and huts necessary and usual for drying of fish, or to resort to the said island beyond the time necessary for fishing and drying of fish." And by a subsequent provision they are specially prohibited from wintering on the island.

France had at this time been signally defeated in war, and there would thus have been no difficulty in excluding her subjects from a privilege so fraught with prospective difficulties to the people of the two countries. And so when in 1783 England as well as France was anxious for peace, the position, as might be expected, was rendered still worse for the colonists, whose interests were in neither case consulted. By the treaty signed in the latter year the Treaty of Utrecht was confirmed, except that the "Treaty shore" was differently defined as the coast between Cape St. John round the north of the island down to Cape Ray at its south-western extremity. As usual, France

[1] This coast-fishing must not be confused with the fishing on the so-called "Banks of Newfoundland," which, being far beyond the three-mile limit, were then, as now, open to the fishermen of all nations.

benefited by this alteration, the portion of coast gained being of considerably more value than that abandoned.

But a concession, far more injurious to the colonial interest, and the cause of incessant trouble ever since, was a declaration of the King, made according to a secret agreement with the French, *which was not made public until after the treaty had been ratified by Parliament.* By it His Britannic Majesty undertook to prevent his subjects "from interfering in any manner by their competition with the fishery of the French." These words have during the last half-century been held by the French to confer an *exclusive* right of fishing. But the British Government have always rejected this interpretation, admitting only a concurrent right preferential to the French. Lord Palmerston might well write: "In no similar instrument which has come under the notice of the British Government is so important a concession of an exclusive privilege announced in terms so loose and indefinite"; and this negative view is confirmed by the fact that the French negotiators of the treaty of 1783 failed in their repeated efforts to get the word "exclusive" inserted in the treaty, while in connection with the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, Joseph Bonaparte met with like failure when he endeavoured to obtain a similar concession.

But though the British Government in its dealings with the French have in this respect remained firm, its complacency at the expense of Newfoundland by no means ended in 1783. Considering that the French fishing right, whatever it may be, had caused continual quarrels between the fishermen of the two countries from the date of the Treaty of Utrecht, it seems almost beyond belief that the British Government should not have seized the opportunity of abrogating it, when, in 1815, the Napoleonic power had been finally destroyed. But so far from this, though war, *ipso facto,* annuls all treaties between the belligerent powers, by the Treaty of Paris in that year they deliberately restored the conditions constituted in 1783, and thus riveted for an indefinite period the chains which had so long

oppressed and restricted the energies of the colonists. It may have been politic on the fall of Napoleon to raise the prestige of the Bourbon dynasty by liberal concessions; but the liberality in this case cost England nothing. As in previous instances, the loss resulting from it fell entirely upon the colony, which received no compensation whatever. And this same deference to France at the expense of the colony has continued ever since. "*L'audace, l'audace, toujours l'audace*" has with almost equal continuity achieved its object.

Between 1815 and the date of my arrival in Newfoundland the condition of things on the Treaty shore may be summarised as one of continual encroachment on the part of the French and weak toleration on the part of the British Government. The loose wording which characterises both treaties and declaration had been twisted by the French into meanings which could never have been contemplated, while without serious hindrance on our part they had contravened stipulations, the meaning of which leaves no opening for doubt. Forcible means had been taken, sometimes even by French cruisers, for preventing British fishing wherever it was likely to prove profitable, and the "exclusive" right which we denied in principle was in practice exercised. Instead of the stages and huts which were alone permissible by the treaty, substantial buildings had been erected, some of them factories provided with machinery for the canning of lobsters; while the terms "fish" and "fishery," which the words of the treaty show to refer to nothing but cod, were made to cover salmon (caught by snake-nets not only at the mouths of rivers, but at a considerable distance above) and lobsters, which are not fish at all. Finally, the pretext afforded by the word "interfering" in the royal declaration was used to prevent the utilisation of the coast by the English for other purposes besides fishing.

Without encumbering these pages with the numerous details of this encroachment and toleration, it will be suffi-

cient to quote a passage from Mr. Beccles Willson's interesting book bearing the dubious title, *The Tenth Island*, which gives a vivid picture of the resulting position.

"They" (the French) "declared that their rights being exclusive, it would be no longer possible for the colonist to fish at all in his own waters. This was bad enough; but the note went on to say that the shore itself was theirs as well. A railway had been projected, the survey completed, the first sod cut. . . . . The British Government ordered the railway to be abandoned. One reason advanced by the French was that the screeching of the locomotive would frighten away the fish!!"

With some 20,000 British subjects settled on the Treaty shore, it may be imagined to what a pass things had come when Lord Salisbury put his foot down firmly (he being honourably distinguished as the first British Minister who had done so), and declared that no French officer would be permitted to seize British boats, cut English nets, or drive British fishermen out of their own harbours. This invidious duty was henceforward to be performed, and is, I believe, now being performed, by British officers.

With a view to ameliorate matters, there had been appointed, from the year 1846 onwards, seven different international Commissions, some of which resulted in arrangements conditional upon the assent of the Newfoundland Legislature. As might have been foreseen by anyone adequately acquainted with the local conditions, none of these compromises could have been accepted by the colony except at the cost of serious injury to itself, for which England offered no compensation. All, moreover, had the common characteristic that the English concessions were solely at the expense of Newfoundland. The mother country, which had already in so many instances[1] during three centuries caused its colony to suffer so much, gave nothing at all. In the event, none of these arrangements

[1] Many such instances, not mentioned here, are given in my article, "The Connection of England with Newfoundland," published in the *Nineteenth Century*, August, 1899.

received the necessary local consent, and all proved abortive.

In 1883 was constituted an eighth Commission, of which Sir Clare Ford, of the Diplomatic Service, and Mr. Pennell, of the Colonial Office, were the British members. After terms had been agreed upon, which again found no favour with the colonists, an amended arrangement was arrived at in 1886 with which I was now to be concerned. I was instructed to do my utmost to obtain the requisite colonial consent, and Mr. Pennell, one of the signatories of the Arrangement, was sent out to assist me towards that object. Having accompanied me on the voyage out, Mr. Pennell came at once to Government House as my guest; so that within a few days after my arrival in Newfoundland I was well primed with all the arguments which could aid me in my task. These I urged repeatedly for all they were worth at meetings of ministers, and Mr. Pennell did his best with the same object before a Parliamentary Committee appointed to consider the question. Neither of us, however, had any success, and when I came to hear all that was to be said on the other side, this appeared by no means surprising. Indeed, the agreement seemed to have been made chiefly with an eye to Imperial interests, and to be dangerous even to them, while it evinced a strange disregard for matters of vital consequence to the colony. The practical admission of an exclusive right of fishing on the part of the French in respect of the whole Treaty shore, and the prohibition of all British residence or enterprise on a dozen different portions of the coast (except as regards railways to connect with outside mines to be mutually agreed upon) was but ill compensated to the colonists by the conceded right to settle and follow occupations other than fishing on the intervening portions of the coast. The smuggling, which had for a long time been a subject of complaint on the part of the colonial Government, would be rendered more easy than before; the mutual hostility which had for centuries existed between the British and

French fishermen was almost certain to be exacerbated when the British found themselves forbidden from fishing in front of their homes, while the words "*troubler en aucune manière la pêche des Français*," contained in the declaration of George III., which had caused so much trouble in the past, had been in no way defined. Serious complications would have been certain to ensue; and, in fact, the danger of war, which the arrangement was intended to avert, would have been in no way lessened, perhaps even increased.

But though, had the arrangement been ratified, these objections would, in my opinion, have very quickly shown themselves to have solid ground, they did not seem to be regarded by the colonists as so insuperable as that to the clause of the agreement which gave to the French an inalienable right to purchase bait on the whole coast of Newfoundland. The colony had suffered, and was still suffering, severely from the bounties given by the French Government on the export of fish caught on "The Banks." In view of the importance to France of the fishing industry as training sailors for its navy, a certain bounty was perhaps justifiable, in order to compensate the extra cost incurred by vessels going to the fishing grounds from the other side of the Atlantic. But the bounty actually granted was much higher than this, and enabled French fish to undersell British fish in all outside countries, and from some markets to almost exclude it altogether. On the other hand, fresh bait obtained from the Newfoundland coast nearest to the fishing grounds had proved to be absolutely necessary to successful fishing, comparative failure having resulted from experiments with preserved bait; and under these circumstances the colonists regarded the unrestricted right to obtain bait as a valuable asset, which should be granted only in return for the abolition, or substantial reduction, of the bounty.

The ministers, supported by an almost complete unanimity of public opinion, remaining firm in their objections,

the local Parliament adjourned without ratifying the arrangement, and Mr. Pennell returned to England. In order, however, that the arrangement might not appear to have been brusquely rejected and that the matter might be still left open for negotiation, the ministers adopted my suggestion that leave should be obtained for the sitting of the committee during the recess. The French Government, however, refused to reduce the bounties, and so the negotiations which ensued were without result.

In reporting to the Secretary of State the failure to convince the colonists of the expediency of ratifying the arrangement, I gave in full the arguments adduced against it, making it clear that I saw no answer to them, and that, in fact, they had convinced me. This and other of my despatches on the subject were afterwards published in a Parliamentary Blue Book, to which I refer those who are interested in this question.

While on this fishery subject I may as well mention what little remains to be said as regards my further connection with it. Before being prorogued, the local Parliament had passed a Bill restricting the sale of bait, and as several similar Bills had in past years been recommended by the ministers of the day for Her Majesty's disallowances, I, as in duty bound, reserved it for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. Before their decision had arrived I had come to feel so strongly the vital importance of such a Bill to the colony that I felt it an imperative duty to support it.

The more I learnt about this question, the more dangerous to the interests of the colony seemed an agreement which contained the bait clause. Indeed, I saw in this clause what even the colonists had up to this time failed to recognise, that it placed the colony almost absolutely at the mercy of the French Government; for it would have required no very large increase of the bounty to render Newfoundland fish entirely unsaleable abroad, and thus to extinguish altogether the industry upon which the colony

almost exclusively depended. And previous experience of the manner in which the colony had been sacrificed to Imperial interests did not at all encourage the hope that such an attack upon its prosperity would be met by retaliatory bounties on the part of the British Government. As the low temperature of the summer (caused by the Arctic current in the neighbourhood) precluded the growth of wheat and was generally unfavourable to agriculture for purpose of export, the prospects of the colony would have been indeed gloomy if France had been placed in a position to adopt with impunity the policy above indicated.

Having become firmly impressed with this view, I took upon myself the serious responsibility of opposing what had been for twenty years past the determined policy of Her Majesty's Government and of urging with the strength born of absolute conviction the allowance of the Bait Bill.

My despatch, written with this object (which appears in the Appendix of this volume), entered fully into all the bearings of the subject. At its close I expressed an earnest hope that the vital interests of 200,000 British subjects would no longer be disregarded out of deference to the susceptibilities of any foreign power; and altogether the language used was so strong that there were not a few who expected that it would cause my recall. I was indeed myself not altogether without apprehension on this point; but I was reassured by a leading article, strongly supporting my views and commending the firmness of their expression, which appeared shortly afterwards in *The Times*. And I was still more gratified to learn from a despatch of Lord Knutsford that my action had had effect upon Her Majesty's Government. This despatch, while pointing out that it would be unfair to the French Government to allow the Bill to become law during that fishing season, contained at the same time a plain intimation that home opposition to such Bills would thenceforward be withdrawn.

Another phase of the Fishery Question was that connected with the establishment by the French of lobster

factories on the west coast. In forwarding a petition on the part of British subjects against a French factory recently started, I wrote strongly in support of its prayer. Except by a very loose nomenclature, lobsters are not fish at all, and even if they are, the words used in the treaties on the subject show with absolute clearness that cod was the only fish in their contemplation; while the erection on the coast of permanent buildings required for the purpose of a lobster factory was in flagrant contravention of the treaties.

Shortly afterwards I warned Her Majesty's Government that the French were about to erect more lobster factories, and that such infringement of the treaties, if allowed to go on, would assuredly lead to greater ones in the future.

On this point I regret to say that my representations had no effect. French lobster factories remain upon the coast of Newfoundland to this day, while British naval officers have in all the years which have intervened been set the humiliating task of enforcing against British subjects an interpretation of the meaning of the treaties which it is impossible to suppose could be put upon them by an impartial tribunal. The humiliating spectacle may still unhappily be witnessed of British subjects being restrained from catching fish in the sea off a British coast on which they were born, and even being extruded from portions of British territory by foreigners who pay no dues to the Government of the island, and act in open defiance of the local laws. All I care to say further on this painful subject is the expression of a hope such as that contained in the despatch above mentioned, that if rights and interests of the greatest importance to Newfoundland should continue to be disregarded owing to Imperial considerations, England may at length discern a moral obligation to make adequate compensation to a colony which, as I have elsewhere shown,[1] has during the whole of its history cruelly suffered from the same cause.

[1] In the *Nineteenth Century* article before referred to.

CHAPTER II

Government House, description of — Entertainments — Unintentional discourtesy — Fishing — Virginia Lake — Great day with sea-trout — Former Governors on Fishery Question — Changes in official language — Imperial Institute; colony unable to aid — Bishop Power (Roman Catholic), his amusing story — Dinner with Bishop Power; a new experience — Optional salt fish for the British Navy — Confederation with Canada; am satisfied it would benefit Newfoundland — Newfoundland distress due to improvidence; necessity for relief — Lord Clanwilliam retires from his command — A curious misapprehension — Visit Christian Brothers' School — A clerical joke — Curious love affair.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, St. John's, which was our residence during my tenure of the Governorship of Newfoundland, is a solid, unpretentious stone structure of moderate size. Its entertainment rooms, though small, are perhaps large enough for the society of the place, and the arrangements, especially those for heating, are, for a small family and establishment, comfortable. The private grounds, of about five acres in extent, cannot be said to be ornate, and there is nothing which can be properly called a garden. But though the surroundings must be pronounced to be somewhat cheerless, the chilling sensation produced by the first sight of the place was quickly succeeded by a liking which was retained up to the time of our departure, this effect being probably in some measure due to the fact that this was our first place of residence in the colonies where outdoor exercise could be taken during the day without discomfort from excessive heat.

We entertained all the leading colonists at dinner, some of them frequently; and in addition to two balls, to each of which some two hundred and fifty people came, we, in the course of the fourteen months spent here, had

numerous small dances, usually choosing for these the occasions when ships-of-war were in harbour. But the entertainments which gave us the greatest pleasure were the children's parties, of which we had several during the winter, the spirits of the young people, in no way affected by the coldness of the climate, being of a particularly lively order.

The public entertainments at which we were present were of a somewhat primitive character, but the people attending them, though not free from defects common to most small communities, had a geniality which is rarely noticeable in larger ones. We noticed, however, from the first, that at social entertainments which we were asked to attend, the habit had apparently been permitted to grow up of treating the Governor in a manner bordering on discourtesy, which was the more noticeable inasmuch as at public official functions generally the courtesy shown was all that could be desired. To remark upon a mode of reception not intended for disrespect was difficult; but the time came when it could no longer be ignored. We arrived one night with exact punctuality at a place where there was to be a ball at which we had been specially asked to attend. A dark, narrow staircase was in front of us, which, though it proved afterwards to be that leading to the ballroom, did not by its appearance suggest that, and no one but a few dirty urchins was near the door. When a servant, going up to the first landing, had found no one there, we concluded that there must have been some mistake, and, after waiting a full five minutes and seeing no one to give information, I gave orders to drive back to Government House.

Shortly after our return the stewards of the ball arrived with profuse apologies, and only on their assurance that dancing would not begin without us did I consent to go back. The incident was not without beneficial result. When the circumstances became known it was generally admitted that I took the only appropriate course; and as

the stewards came in for somewhat severe criticism, we never afterwards had to complain of our reception.

For some weeks after our arrival snow was still on the ground, and up to the end of May the weather was in most respects that of winter. But all of a sudden, at the beginning of June, without any intervening spring, summer burst upon us with extraordinary suddenness, and trees which were completely bare one day appeared three days afterwards covered with thick foliage. Then for some two and a half months the climate was as nearly as possible perfect, and the exceeding greenness of the vegetation gave beauty to a country which its warmest admirers cannot call exceptionally picturesque.

Our afternoon drive was frequently to the residence of Mr. Emerson, a very old gentleman, long since dead, in whose grounds was one of the numerous small lakes with which the island abounds from one end of it to the other. This particular one was, I should say, some fifty acres in area, and abounded with small trout. Though rarely exceeding half a pound in weight, they afforded us considerable amusement in catching them. During some four weeks of the summer they would rise to almost every cast, and not unfrequently each of the three flies, with which we used to fish, were taken simultaneously. A single rod could easily obtain several dozen trout in the course of an afternoon. Afterwards their hunger seemed suddenly to cease, or probably was more easily satisfied by other food than flies.

While on the subject of fishing, I may mention that the reputation which Newfoundland rivers had at one time for salmon fishing was not in my time justified by the success of those who attempted this sport. I am told the case is different now that railways have opened up parts of the country which could then be reached only by difficult and expensive expeditions, occupying much time and involving considerable hardship. But for a short period in summer the sea-trout fishing was, I should say, hardly to be surpassed, if equalled, in the world. I once had the opportunity

of trying it, and it afforded so much sport as to make me regret that I was unable to have more.

Having paid a visit to Placentia, which long ago had been the scene of much fighting between English and French, I, on returning homewards, fished a river which we were told had a "run" of sea-trout. Almost as soon as my flies touched the water, one of them was seized by a fish weighing nearly two pounds. Remaining in the same pool some five hours, until late in the afternoon, I had a basket of over five dozen of fish, none of them under a pound, and one over three pounds in weight. Bethell (my private secretary), who had accompanied me, but preferred walking along the bank, was nearly as fortunate, each of us having had a day not likely to be forgotten. I, however, paid dearly for my amusement. The excitement of sport caused me not to notice the mosquitoes, which were abundant and virulent. But that night the effect of their bites, combined possibly with a chill caused by standing so long up to the middle in cold water, brought on high fever, which detained me for two days in bed, and had not altogether subsided when I got home. By the time I had completely recovered the fishing season had passed.

The few weeks of warm summer in Newfoundland are beyond measure enjoyable, to some extent, perhaps, owing to the contrast with the rest of the year; and we look back with pleasure to the picnic expeditions which we undertook with our children and others to various lakes in the vicinity—a pleasure which no one can completely appreciate who has not been for years under a sun which renders impossible any open-air enjoyment in the middle of the day.

In September my wife was obliged to go to England to place our boy, who had spent his summer holidays with us, at a new school. In my journal, then kept for a time, I find that on the first day of her absence my daughter, coming as usual to my bedside in the morning, said, "Now I'm all alone to take care of you, father!" (She was then four

years old.) I took her with me, Bethell being with us, for a drive, to call upon Emerson at Virginia. In spite of his great weight of years, this old colonist was quite clear in mind, and able to talk about the past with astonishing distinctness of memory. He told me that he had often noticed my likeness to Governor Darling, who was one of my predecessors in St. Lucia, and afterwards Governor of Jamaica and Victoria. Singularly enough, I had just been reading various old despatches, and had quite made up my mind that he and Sir Thomas Cochrane were the best of the Governors who had ruled Newfoundland during the previous half-century. The despatches of either, on any important subject, are always worth reading. It was interesting to find that each of them, though separated by a long interval of years, had expressed almost the same sentiments as myself with regard to the French fishing rights, sometimes in almost identical language. In reading these old papers one notes how official as well as other language gradually alters. Both of these Governors, in forwarding petitions to the Queen, request that they should "be laid at the foot of the throne," and even Darling, so lately as 1855, commonly uses the phrase, "I do myself the honour," instead of the now almost universal, "I have the honour."

Consulting my journal, I come across the following entries:—

September 19th.—Received in bed this morning a message of urgency from George's Cove, Labrador, telling me that the whole of the families there are in great distress. Sent petition at once to Thorburn (the Premier) requesting his immediate consideration.

September 21st.—Received a telegram from the Prince of Wales requesting the assistance of this Government towards a permanent Colonial and Indian Exhibition, either in the shape of an annual contribution or a sum down, together with my views on the subject. The idea is an excellent one, but I doubt the success of the proposed institution if

it is to be located at South Kensington. But, independently of this feeling, our financial position is so precarious that I feel tolerably certain Ministers will not dare to entertain the proposal. Thorburn coming here at my request, I showed him the telegram, and asked for his views without expressing my own. Though he waits for the opinion of his colleagues, who are out of town, he is strongly inclined to think it will be adverse. As immediate reply was requested, I drafted a temporising one, saying that a meeting of Ministers was summoned for to-morrow to consider without delay a proposal of such intrinsic importance, which deserved specially respectful attention as emanating from an illustrious source, distinguished for colonial sympathies.

September 21st.—Executive Council decided that they could not consider the Prince of Wales's proposal without information which had not been sent. I have to frame a telegram accordingly—a very disagreeable task.

September 22nd.—Sent telegram in exact accordance with the views expressed by Ministers, to the effect that in the absence of specific information as to the destination of the sum subscribed, the Government was not in a position to come to a decision satisfactory to the colony, at a time when industrial depression and the prospect of widespread distress rendered financial economy more than ordinarily necessary. In view of my having been compelled to express, then on my own responsibility, similar views in Fiji with regard to the Fisheries Exhibition, it is most unfortunate that I should have to appear a second time as obstructive to projects of the Prince of Wales, which have been evidently conceived in the best interest of the colonies. In the former case, however, the state of the finances permitted me no other alternative, and in this the responsibility is not mine. Had I pressed for a favourable decision, it was scarcely possible that I should have succeeded. For at a time when every available shilling was required for matters of grave urgency, Ministers would not have dared to risk their popularity by spending money upon what, after all, would be of doubtful advantage to the colony.

Telegraphed also to the Colonial Office asking for papers with regard to the scheme, which the Prince evidently thinks have already reached us.

Amused, but not over-pleased, by a despatch from the Colonial Office, with regard to Carter having, contrary to the Colonial Regulations, drawn, besides his salary as Chief Justice, the full salary of Governor up to the date of my arrival in the colony, thus depriving me of the half-salary to which I was entitled from the date of my embarkation. The despatch orders that the regulations are to be observed on future occasions, but accepts my proposal, that Carter should not be required to refund on this occasion. As a matter of fact, I never made such a proposal, and merely said that while the regulation ought to be enforced, I did not intend to benefit by it. I specially wished that the money unduly drawn should be refunded, with the intention of drawing it myself and paying it back to him, so that while *he* would not lose, the regulation would not be broken. [It is remarkable how the Colonial Office, when convenient, allowed the evasion of its own rules.]

September 25th.—R. called with the object of inducing me to represent his services with a view to a probable distribution of honours next year. He deserves something, and I shall do my best for him.

September 28th.—The two Catholic bishops at dinner. He of Harbour Grace I found to be a specially well-read man. Bishop Power told me an amusing story: "A very old woman who is a hawker of fish had recently sold him a very large and heavy salmon. On its being opened it was found full of stones, the weight of which had been paid for. On subsequently remonstrating with the vendor in respect of the fraud, she was ready with this reply: 'Sure, your riverence, he was caught at the bottom, and had to take in ballast to get there.'" M. surpassed herself over the dinner.[1]

[1] This was our cook, who, on Lord Normanby's departure from Australia, had come to us in Fiji from his service. She had remained with us in England, and accompanied us to Newfoundland.

September 28*th.*—The *Daily Telegram* has ceased to abuse me, and the threatened unamiable criticism on my supposed unconstitutional conduct in delaying the election for Carbonear has never appeared. What has altered the current I do not know. Perhaps it is that the attacks on me have done the paper much harm. They had not even plausible ground, and have much irritated the Catholics.

September 30*th.*—Dined with Bishop Power. Ten of the guests were clergy, including the other Bishop and the Archdeacon, the others being, besides myself and the two Bethells, Thorburn, Shea, Judge Conroy, Messrs. Kent and E. Shea. I sat between the two ecclesiastical dignitaries, and had a really agreeable dinner. But afterwards, to my horror, there were speeches, the host at each toast leading off with a song like "For he's a jolly good fellow," or "Auld Lang Syne," the whole of the guests joining in chorus. In toasting me he was highly eulogistic; but it struck me that in the case of another toast his praise was used for another than its ostensible object; for in proposing Thorburn's health, who was elected as leader of the anti-Catholics, and in complimenting him, he gave an unmistakable dig at one of his own persuasion. "In so far as I know," said he, "you have gained nothing by your service in the Government; whereas most politicians have axes to grind, you have none." The old Archdeacon also made a covert hit at the same politician, so that he is evidently not in favour with his Church, though as an influential member of the party, it is deemed well to keep on fair terms with him. After each toast one of the priests sang a song, one of them giving "Titwillow," from the *Mikado*, very well. After dinner Bishop Power, who was in a specially amiable mood, told me that it would cause some jealousy among his friends that more had not been asked, and then requested that I would "endure" another such evening next week. I confess I dislike dining out, especially when there are speeches, but I could not but assent, and named next Tuesday.

September 30th.—The Premier and two other ministers came in this morning, and without a formal Council we discussed various important matters: (1) the approaching distress and the means of alleviating it in the various districts—a subject to which I have given much consideration, (2) a proposal from the railway company to settle disputed matters, (3) a proposed "fishing" mission to England, and (4) an invitation to contribute to the Queen's Jubilee fund. I gave my opinion on all these matters, but am careful to do so only when specially asked.

October 2nd.—Have had a very disagreeable task the last few days. Under very extraordinary circumstances the course of justice against a man accused of serious crime has been interfered with. Fortunately, I was able to intervene with a satisfactory result.

Had a small dinner-party this evening, consisting of the Bishop (Anglican) and Mrs. Jones, the wives of two naval officers on this station, the Chief Justice's daughter, Miss Carter, and others.

October 3rd.—In course of conversation to-day the idea occurred to me of an experiment by which the British Army and Navy would be given the option once or twice a week of a ration of salt fish instead of meat. If not made compulsory, many would very possibly prefer it as a change, especially if they were taught the West Indian ways of making the fish palatable. In the West Indies all classes, white and black, prefer it once a day to all other food, and I suspect the same taste might easily be created in other Englishmen, especially those serving in the tropics. The result would be a great benefit to this colony and a substantial saving to the British Exchequer.

Talked with an intelligent colonist about confederation with Canada; am firmly convinced that it would be greatly to the benefit of this colony. The greater enterprise of the Canadians would in many ways develop the island's resources, besides opening a wider field for the ambition of its best men and generally broadening political views. It

would also secure stronger influence in England towards the remedy of the grievances under which the colony has so long suffered. I fear, however, that the petty interests of a few influential people will continue to delay a consummation devoutly to be wished.

October 4th.—O. called to-day, and as he was here yesterday also, when I was out, I felt sure he had "an axe to grind," and I was right. He wants to be sent to England to press the Bait Bill. He would be a good man for the purpose, but I was obliged to tell him that it was out of my power to press such a matter, as to do so would place me in an awkward position if another party came into office which was opposed to such a policy.

October 5th.—Dinner at Bishop Power's. Sixteen guests. Much the same as last time, except that there were no speeches. The Bishop sang well some of Tommy Moore's songs and was very jovial. He described to me the extreme difficulty there had been in effecting the recent amalgamation of parties, which had resulted in the inclusion of two Catholic members in the Protestant Ministry, and complimented me by saying that but for my presence in the colony it would not have happened. The meeting of the Catholic party had sat for ten hours, every kind of effort having been made by someone working in the interest of —— (a leading politician out of office) to upset the scheme.

October 6th.—Hamond,[1] of the *Emerald*, young Leveson, and six other men at dinner, at which there was an amusing "spar" between two legal dignitaries. When one of them was extravagantly lauding the Canadian Pacific Railway, the other remarked that the speaker had a free ticket, and was earning it!!

October 7th.—At Executive Council to-day learnt that a meeting of the party had given the Government what is practically *carte blanche* for dealing with the distress, which is very satisfactory. I have been continually impressing the expediency of beginning at once the works

[1] Now Admiral.

intended, in order that the appearance of pauper relief may be as far as possible avoided, and also of keeping back part of the wages, so as to preclude the people being in a state of starvation when the snow renders further work impossible. The fishing population is so fearfully improvident that whatever the wages, they are all spent as soon as earned. I am glad to say that Ministers concur in my views, but are not as energetic about the matter as I should like.

October 13th.—Clanwilliam[1] (with Captain Fitzgerald) came to call this afternoon. Sad to say he goes home at once, and gives up his command. Having come to the end of his active life at sea, he is naturally not in good spirits. Any further command he may have will be a land one. Clanwilliam, Fitzgerald, Hamond, and Lindsay at dinner. How different would be life in the colonies if one could have more often freedom of conversation with people one really likes! Cannot say how sorry I am to lose Clanwilliam and Hamond, who go home at once. Both of them one likes the better the more one knows of them. Hamond has been so long an inmate of the house that I shall specially miss him.

October 15th.—Received a visit from Father ——, an agreeable priest. He endeavoured to obtain my good word in favour of a candidate for a magistracy. It was amusing to observe in him a belief that I had great influence with the hierarchy of his Church.

October 19th.—The weather just now is simply perfect, much like that we had in New Jersey six years ago, though perhaps a trifle colder. The tints of the foliage are, however, not so fine as in the States and Canada, owing probably to the absence of the maple.

Paid a visit this afternoon to the Christian Brothers' School. Some four hundred boys are being taught gratuitously, and, as far as I can judge, well taught. Their arithmetic was astonishingly good, while some of the higher

[1] The Earl of, now Admiral of the Fleet.

boys were becoming proficient in practical mathematics, such as mensuration. I sometimes doubt whether free instruction for all alike does not lead to more disappointment than pleasure. Every one of these boys will regard himself as above manual labour, and most of them will go to swell the already overcrowded ranks of clerks. If compelled to manual labour they will be dissatisfied for the rest of their lives. The Fathers were specially civil, and said my visit was all the greater pleasure as no Governor had ever paid them one before.

At dinner a clergyman told me as a great joke that a man he knew, when he had related to a pious friend the circumstances under which he had had a miraculous escape from the jaws of death, had been asked, "What did you do when you were in such danger, did you pray?" To which his friend replied, "Oh no, I kept my presence of mind." Rather a singular joke for a parson.

October 24th.—Owing to a tremendous storm of wind and rain went to St. Thomas's Church in a "billycock" hat. The unconventional dress, I observed, made the people smile. Apparently it is thought better to keep away from church rather than go in anything but a tall hat.

There was a curious love affair on the *Carthaginian*, the steamer which has just arrived. A rich old Scotchman, who has been many years settled in Baltimore, fell in love with the stewardess. She accepted his addresses only on the condition that they should be married immediately on their arrival in St. John's, she fearing the opposition of his relations when he reached home. Accordingly they were married here by a Methodist parson, the bridegroom, according to the story, paying forty pounds for his venture. I am told that the marriage is perfectly legal.

Chiefly for the sake of his wretched wife and family, wrote a kindly letter of remonstrance to —— (the head of a department), who has recently given way to habits of drunkenness. As he knows I have no power of removing him from office, the task was a very irksome one, and he

may possibly be as impertinent to me as he was the other day to ——, who found him in a condition of advanced intoxication.

October 30*th.*—Old Talbot, the sheriff, who has been away, called yesterday and sat some time. He had had various inquiries in Canada after me, and whether it was true that I was the most popular Governor there had been for many years, and could do anything with the people here, to which he of course answered, quite true. I only wish I could say the same, and that I could do a little to lessen the terrible improvidence of the fishermen.

October 31*st.*—Walking round Quidi Vidi[1] with Sir Frederick Carter, stopped at a small fishing village, and was most glad to hear that herrings had come in in enormous numbers, and will thus help to lessen the distress of the coming winter.

[1] A large lake near St. John's.

CHAPTER III

Bazaars: large amount raised—Sir William Whiteway—An embarrassing present—A singular Governor—Official inertia—Hudson's Bay route to Canada impracticable—Fraud in applications for relief—Open Fishermen's Home—Contrivance for learning to skate—Good performance of *Mikado*—Premier threatened—Strange view of comic opera—Experience of sliding carriage—*Enfant terrible*—Private use of Union Jack—Importunity for relief—A frank clock-winder—Decline lecture, with reasons—Open Wesleyan College.

NOVEMBER 11th.—Marion[1] paid a visit to-day to the Catholic orphanage. The Reverend Mother is much bothered with bills, the institution being much in debt, the hard times having necessitated the putting off till next year the bazaar which would have relieved them from embarrassment. The amount of money raised by these bazaars in this poor community is astonishing. The last one for the orphanage realised over £3,000, and one held the other day, for no better object than the procuring of furniture for a masonic hall, secured £1,300.

November 12th.—Had a long talk to-day with the Very Reverend Father Howley, the scene of whose duties is the so-called "French Shore." He gave me much new information about the state of things there. He is one of the few I have met who are in favour of confederation with Canada. Returning from a walk with M. in the afternoon, met Sir William Whiteway, and we had some conversation. He foresaw when he resigned office a year ago that an exclusively Protestant Ministry could not last long, and that on its downfall he would resume power. The recent amalgamation with Catholics has therefore disappointed

[1] My wife, who had returned since the last entry in the journal.

him, and I myself think it in this respect unfortunate, as I regard him as the ablest politican I have met in the country.

November 13th.—Some neighbours have had an embarrassing present. Probably because they are known for their kindliness, a moribund baby was left at their door. They were unable to save its life, but to satisfy the scruples of the household had it baptised before it died. Mr. ——, being intensely respectable, with a large family of his own, has been the object of much "chaff" in consequence. They dined with me last night, and Mrs. —— expressed great regret at the child's death, saying it was the most beautiful baby she ever saw.

November 15th.—Bethell told me to-day a story which affords a good illustration of the kind of man who is sometimes chosen as Governor. A gentleman, who is farming here, was serving as a private in a volunteer corps in another colony. Being a man of good social position, he had dined with the Governor, when one day, being in private's uniform, he was taken by one of the officers of his regiment to luncheon in a tent in which the Governor happened to be, whereupon the latter remarked in a loud voice to the officer in question that he could not sit down to table with one in private's uniform. When in consequence the man was about to retire, the Governor said it was not the man he objected to, but the dress, and suggested that he should either change it or turn it inside out. Being much in want of his luncheon, the man swallowed the insult and turned his coat inside out. I should have regarded this as incredible if I had not heard similar stories of the same Governor.

November 17th.—At Executive Council to-day heard the measures being taken for relief of distress. This question is beset with difficulties. It is practically certain that men are being employed upon relief works who could maintain themselves without assistance; while the knowledge that the Government will not permit starvation increases im-

providence in times of plenty. It is a curious fact that in this period of special distress the deposits in the savings banks have actually increased.

November 20th.—Barometer down to 29 and 2-10ths, which in the tropics would mean coming hurricane. For five minutes there was the severest snowstorm I ever saw, even in Canada, the ground being in that time covered with more than an inch of snow. Five minutes afterwards there was a completely clear sky.

November 22nd.—The ground now completely covered with snow, only the tips of the grass-shoots showing above it. Distress is becoming acute, and Marion has opened her kitchen for dispensing soup to the hungry. Great discrimination has, however, to be used for the discovery of the really destitute. A man came to Glover, the late Governor, for charity, asserting that his house in one of the out-harbours had been burnt down the day before. The Poor Commissioner, to whom the man was referred, gave the man a dollar pending inquiry, on his asseveration that he was actually hungry. The story of the fire turned out to be an entire fabrication, and yet, such is the official inertia here, the man was not prosecuted.

November 22nd.—Another instance of this inertia. A telegram received some days ago from the Secretary of State apprised me that a steam-vessel had left New Orleans with supposed Fenian intentions. I at once sent a minute on the subject to the Colonial Secretary for the information of the ministers. Hearing this morning that a vessel in the harbour, with its cargo on fire, had not come from Baltimore, as was supposed, but from New Orleans, I at once asked whether the custom officers had been warned to be on the look-out. I found that they had not yet had any notice, so that if this vessel had happened to be the Fenian, which is fortunately not the case, the intended mischief would have already been done.

November 26th.—A Captain Gordon, who has been surveying Hudson's Bay for the Canadian Government, had

luncheon with us to-day, and stayed for two hours, telling his experiences, which were interesting. He utterly disbelieves in the projected Hudson's Bay route for passengers and grain between England and the Canadian North-West. Harvey at dinner told me that though the imports of bread-stuffs and all sorts of provisions this year have been much larger than last year, the stocks at this moment, notwithstanding the distress, are considerably lower. This, with the increase of savings in the banks, sets one pondering.

November 30*th.*—Received a petition signed by over a hundred persons, stating that the Government relief is entirely insufficient, and that they are on the point of starvation. The woman who brought it emphasised her case by saying that if further help was not given they would have to do as on a former occasion, when they ate their children as they died. This story of cannibalism is, however, scouted by the old residents here. Chronic pauperism has made the people accomplished liars, and it is possible that the account of extreme destitution is untrue. For the people know that a steamer going to them now would be the last which could reach them this season, and must therefore bring the necessary provisions, which, as they have probably learnt from experience, when once there, are unlikely to be taken back, whatever the state of things found there. The place—Indian Arm, Bonavista Bay—is, though only one hundred and fifty miles off, almost impossible to get at as soon as the ice closes in. Sent the case to the Premier for consideration and action. I expect the people will get their provisions, and that these, whatever the case, will not come back again, anything like conscience in respect to Government property being here even more deficient than elsewhere.

A visitor to-day was eloquent about the false pretences on which people here obtain charity. One woman lately had drawn money from her to pay for a coffin for her husband, just dead. It subsequently turned out that the

husband was not dead at all, and that the family was by no means destitute.

December 2nd.—Executive Council to-day. No business worth mentioning. The contrast between such Councils here and in Crown Colonies is striking. There the responsibility for all decisions rests with the Governor. Here the proceedings are little more than formal, being the ratification of what has been previously settled in the Cabinet. I find, however, that my experience is not unfrequently useful to men who are nearly all of them quite new to official life.

December 6th.—To-day opened the Fishermen's and Seamen's Home. By some strange arrangement there were hardly any present of the class which is intended to be benefited, the audience being almost exclusively of well-to-do people. Consequently I had to leave out from the speech which was expected of me much that was intended for seamen. I took the opportunity, however, of giving a rap to those who make fortunes in the island and go away without apparently giving a thought to the wants of its institutions. Three hearty cheers were given for Marion, to which I responded.

December 8th.—All the newspapers, even the *Daily Telegram*, praise my speech. Conspicuous among them in this respect is the Catholic organ, which makes more inexplicable the absence from the ceremony of all the priests.

December 11th.—Signed to-day three hundred and six warrants for expenditure, the amounts aggregating over £100,000. Sums, huge for this poor colony, are being spent on relief works, and yet the Government is being abused for not spending enough. The soup visitors to our kitchen are becoming very numerous. Heard to-day that the absence of the priests from the Seamen's Home opening was due to the fact that the management is chiefly in the hands of two fanatic Wesleyans, who are believed certain to attempt proselytising. My informant also told me that the man brought out from England as manager volunteered

a loud extempore prayer after dinner at his hotel, though many Catholics were present. Unless he is precluded from similar proceedings at the Home, the fate of the institution is sealed. I must make an effort to mend matters, but the matter must be handled very delicately.

December 13th.—The thermometer has been falling lower every night, and last night registered twenty degrees of frost. I went, accompanied by Bethell, in response to invitation, to skate in private before it is opened to the public, upon the new rink—a large building intended for five hundred skaters and two hundred spectators. Was shown an ingenious contrivance for enabling a beginner to learn skating quickly. It consists of a circular iron ring of a shape corresponding to that of the body, and intended to surround it, but much larger, so that the hands can rest upon it. This is supported by four light legs on skates spreading widely at the base. The learner gets into it and the machine moves with the movement of the body, being always there for his support and rendering a tumble impossible, while the widespread legs enable free striking out.

December 14th.—Thorburn called and told me of an unpleasant affair which took place last Monday. He was surrounded and threatened by a mob of some two hundred men, who followed him to his house. He declined to be intimidated, brought out his gun and laid a number of cartridges in a row in their sight, having previously sent for the police. Two or three were arrested, but after a night in the lock-up were let off with a lecture. It appears that the principal culprits were two members of the Opposition, who had instigated the movement, and who, owing to a defect in the law, cannot be prosecuted. We like Thorburn the more the more we see of him. He is a gentleman at heart, and, what cannot be always said of politicians, is thoroughly honest.

December 15th.—At Executive Council to-day I casually remarked to one of the ministers that I had been at a performance of the *Mikado* last night. He replied, "That is

the broad road, your Excellency; I try to follow the narrow one." I felt almost tempted to say, "Yes, very narrow."

December 16th.—Though the snow has so far disappeared as to preclude sleighing, the frost in the night had covered the roads with ice, which, when we attempted driving out in the carriage, gave us a very unpleasant experience. Going down a steep hill, the carriage began to slip sideways on the ice, and gradually came almost broadside to the horses, threatening every moment to upset; in fact, at one moment the two wheels of one side were off the ground. The horses became very restive, and only the complete presence of mind of the coachman saved us from an unpleasant accident. Went, at special request, to fourth performance of the *Mikado*—an unusual run for Newfoundland. Alice, whom, as a great treat, we had taken to see the performance, became so excited by the music that, without any warning, she left her seat and began to dance in front of the stage, to the great amusement of the audience. The spirits of our *enfant terrible* are for the moment almost beyond control. This reminds me that on a recent Sunday one of her sudden impulses was equally amusing and still more disconcerting. I should mention that our nurse is a Congregationalist, and Alice usually prefers to go to that church, where, as she says, there is a "good sing." But on the Sunday in question she took it into her head to accompany us to the English Cathedral. In the Congregationalist Church she rarely, if ever, sees anyone she knows, so there has been no necessity for warning her against indulging there in her effusive greetings. The case was different, however, in the Cathedral; and when the procession of the clergy was coming up the centre aisle, our pew being in front next to the altar rails, Alice, looking round, at once recognised the Bishop and two of the curates, who are the objects of her special affection. Thereupon she at once got up from her seat, and beaming with smiles, raised both hands in face of the whole congregation, and waved them violently at her clerical friends, causing

general amusement to all around, bringing a smile to the faces of the curates, and almost disturbing the gravity even of the Bishop himself.

A well-to-do colonist, who has a flagstaff in front of his house, has lately taken to flying the Union Jack upon it. In accordance with a prescriptive custom, this flag is usually in colonies displayed only upon Government buildings. Probably, therefore, some comment upon his unconventional proceeding had reached the colonist in question, as the other day he asked me whether there was any law which forbade his doing so. I replied that on that point I was ignorant; but in any case there was no more likelihood of interference with him than if he chose to parade the streets in a field-marshal's uniform. I observed that another flag was substituted the next day.

December 17th.—The man who is paid by Government for winding up the clocks came to Bethell this morning and said, "Please, sir, I am drunk; here are the keys." He had sufficient sense left not to ruin the clocks.

January 6th.—We have been several mornings to skate at the rink at this time, there being very few people there. Marion, with the aid of the machine before described, is making rapid progress. In accordance with a promise that I would go some evening, Bethell and I went to the rink after dinner. Some ninety people of both sexes were skating, and about a hundred more looking on. Being totally unexpected, I was in hopes that we should be unnoticed. But in the course of a few minutes the band struck up "God Save the Queen," and there were embarrassing cheers. I acknowledged them by bowing; but I did not turn the occasion into a public one by making any speech, which was apparently expected.

January 7th, 1887.—Had one of our children's parties this evening. Thirty-three small people came and enjoyed themselves vastly. Great expense is incurred here for dress, but that of the children is always in good taste.

To the opening of the Wesleyan College. After being

shown over the building by the president and a number of Methodist clergy, we adjourned to the large hall, in which about a thousand people were assembled. We were received with "God Save the Queen," all rising in their seats. The proceedings commenced with a long extempore prayer, in which "our highly respected Governor and his excellent lady" were not forgotten. Then came the singing of hymns and glees, and a number of speeches. The reverend gentlemen occupied so much time in what were rather sermons to a congregation than speeches to a secular audience, that some of the intending speakers were shut out altogether. Though the expressions of various people to Marion and the notices in the Press indicate a different opinion, I thought my own speech very poor. Probably the standard of public speaking here is low. Those utterances which I have heard, or read of, seem to confirm this estimate; for what is said, speaking generally, is mere commonplace, and contains no indication of original thought. Very different from my experiences in Australia.

January 21st.—Much worried to-day by the advent of a great number of people evidently in a state bordering upon starvation. I could not send them away without relief, as to get them any from elsewhere would take time. The tax is become unpleasantly severe, and I fear will get worse as the winter advances and the time gets longer since it has been possible to earn wages. An extraordinarily rapid thaw, the two feet of snow which were on the ground two days ago having almost entirely disappeared.

January 25th.—Wrote a letter to Mr. Stanhope, asking him, despite his change of offices, to support in the Cabinet the claim of this colony to have the Bait Bill allowed. I feel this matter the more keenly the more I think of it.

CHAPTER IV

Increased warmth of public reception—Meet with serious accident on ice—Disallowance of Bait Bill causes extreme bitterness—Owing to accident open Legislature by deputy; question of legality arises thereupon—Distribution of colonial honours—Winter in Newfoundland more temperate than in Canada—Amusing laudation of my despatches—Mons. Des Isles—Malicious reports circulated in Australia—Start for England—Vessel fast in ice—Halifax—A midnight story—Return to Newfoundland.

JANUARY 27th.—Asked to-day to attend a proposed farmers' dinner, at which the Premier and other prominent men will be present. I feel that the farming interest has been too much neglected here, and for this reason was inclined to consent. But I feared the introduction of politics, and it was only on the strict condition that these were entirely barred that I agreed to go.

February 10th.—Have been much occupied with matters connected with the Fishery Question. On Saturday arrived a telegram from the Secretary of State announcing the disallowance of the Bait Bill, causing me to be even more busy than before. Then on Monday evening I had a severe fall on the ice. Skating backwards at full speed, my skate ran into a crack concealed by abraded ice, and I fell heavily. Though feeling the shake comparatively little at the time, I was next morning fit for nothing, unable to walk without assistance, and feeling both arms almost useless. Dr. Crowdy took a somewhat serious view of the situation, and ordered me to abstain from taking the least exertion either with body or head. To-day, though considerably better, I have a sensation as though both legs and arms were bent and could not be straightened.

Fortunately I had done all the most pressing work before the accident.

The mail brought a letter couched in very complimentary terms from Sir H. Holland, the principal, though not ostensible, object of which was to stir me up at the instance of the Prince of Wales on the subject of the Imperial Institute. Not only as a loyal subject, but on Imperial grounds I should under ordinary circumstances endeavour to stem the strong feeling which I know will be aroused against this proposal. But in present conditions I feel that the attempt would be not only useless, but wrong; and I do not think that the Secretary of State, knowing the state of our finances and that he had just refused to the colony the exercise of a right upon which it had set its heart, should have shifted upon my shoulders the unpleasant responsibility of decision. In my reply I showed that this colony, unlike most of the others, could not possibly gain materially by such an institute, having no attractions for immigrants and its practically only staple of export being as well known in the world as it is ever likely to be; and as any contribution must therefore be entirely on sentimental grounds, the moment was a peculiarly inopportune one for stirring such a subject. For not only was the revenue entirely insufficient for really urgent needs, but Her Majesty's Government had just struck what is universally regarded here as a severe blow to the interests of the people. Though the Legislature would, in the long run, not allow the colony to be left out of a movement in which all its sister colonies were joining, any motion on the subject at this moment would meet with almost universal opposition. In fact, the colony was so exasperated at the ruin which was being inflicted upon it by England that, until this feeling cools down, projects of annexation to the United States were much more likely to obtain a hearing than any scheme for drawing closer the ties with the mother country. It was a most unpleasant thing to say; but it was just as well that they should know at home how deep is the feeling

of resentment on the part of the people here at a policy which touches not only their pockets, but their feelings. The reason given for non-assent to the Bait Bill has made matters worse rather than better. In mentioning that French capital has been invested for the operations of this year, the fact is ignored that the policy, which regards this, disregards altogether the greater loss to be sustained by this colony from the disallowance. Moreover, as the colonists urge, the French knew of the passing of the Bait Bill a year ago, and would doubtless have governed themselves accordingly, if they had not been assured of what was concealed from the colonists, that the Bill would not be allowed. I infer from the form of the telegram that the Bill, if passed again, will be allowed to come into operation next year. But the colonists say there is no assurance of this, and deference to French susceptibilities has been carried to such a length at the expense of this colony, without the slightest compensation, that they may be excused from refusing to believe in it.

February 11th.—To show that I have not misinterpreted public feeling, the paper which has the largest circulation here has begun to openly advocate annexation to the United States, on the ground that all French Shore and Bait questions would quickly be settled in its favour, while American enterprise would develop its resources. I fervently hope that this inclination to disloyalty will be checked by the allowance of the Bait Bill for next year. If the case of Newfoundland became generally known, by any serious move in the direction indicated, it would be sure to excite sympathy in the other self-governing colonies. Should the right to protect its fisheries, which belongs to every such colony, be taken away from one to which fisheries are almost all in all, what colony can feel safe with regard to anything belonging to it which offends the susceptibilities of foreign powers? In fact, they will say, "What is Newfoundland's turn to-day may be ours to-morrow; and what advantage is there in depending

upon a country which takes away absolutely without any compensation what it has once given, because that course suits its Imperial convenience?"

February 23rd.—Took a short walk on the arm of Sir William Whiteway. On his introducing the subject, I expressed my disapproval of his having introduced politics at the agricultural dinner at which, but for my accident, I should have been present, this having produced an acrimonious discussion between himself and Sir Ambrose Shea. He justified himself on the ground that it was done in England. I replied that this was never the case, except when the guests were all of one party; and I asked what would be thought if the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition were to attack one another at a Royal Academy dinner.

A curious point has been raised with regard to my having opened the Legislature by commission owing to my accident. A protest has been lodged against this proceeding by one of the Opposition members, on the ground that this is one of the Governor's duties which cannot be delegated. The protest is ably drawn, and I can well imagine from what source it emanated; but it met with no support, and being considered disrespectful to me, was expunged from the records. Though my action was without precedent, the Attorney-General and the Chief Justice held it to be allowable. But for it the meeting of the Legislature would have had to be delayed until the arrival from England of a commission for a Deputy-Governer. Some circumstances related to me by Sir F. Carter are such as to cause reflection with regard to the lavish distribution of honours among colonial statesmen, which is now becoming the rule. The practice is no doubt useful from an Imperial point of view, but it is a questionable advantage to the colonies. For where the interests of a colony are held to conflict with those of the Empire, those who are on the look-out for honours are not at all likely to press a case which is regarded as inconvenient by the home Government.

February 26th.—Snow is now several feet deep, but so far this winter my thermometer has never registered a lower temperature than two below zero. I am told that this cold is very rarely exceeded, so that, contrary to the general belief outside, the winter cold of this colony is far less than that of Canada, where the thermometer often falls many degrees below zero several nights in succession. I remember going once to a ball in Montreal, when the thermometer was at thirty below zero, or sixty-two degrees of frost. One of the newspapers attacks, as supererogatory and a waste of money, the sending home of a deputation to press for the allowance of the Bait Bill, which has just been passed again, saying that after my despatches this is like the firing of a pop-gun at a fortification which has just been levelled by heavy cannon!!

February 28th.—Mons. Des Isles, the unacknowledged French Consul, came to play chess. He is a really able man, and his account of the causes which obstruct the colony's progress is both amusing and instructive. He tells me that he shall have to report to the French Government that I had proclaimed my assent to a Bait Bill which he had not been permitted to see. As this will cause reclamations from the French Government, I must at once wire home that the Bill contains a suspending clause, and does not come into operation without the Queen's assent, or it will be thought either that I have gone mad or have determined that the Bill shall become law, whether the Colonial Office likes or not.

March 2nd, 1887.—A leading colonist told me to-day that the only exceptions to absolute unanimity in approval of my despatches are half a dozen farmers, who, knowing that my statements are true, are nevertheless indignant that they have been made, as decreasing the chance of selling their farms to innocent outsiders.

March 26th.—A rumour has been circulated in the southern colonies that I am to go to Western Australia, evidently for the purpose of furnishing the occasion of

publishing disgracefully malicious falsehoods about my government of Fiji.[1] It is easy to discern from whom these emanate. In the absence of adequate contradiction, which no one there is sufficiently acquainted with the facts to make effectively, the statements are certain to be damaging in Australia.[2]

What, however, is of much more consequence is the discovery of disinclination here to devote any money to an adequate celebration of the Queen's Jubilee. I impressed the matter upon the minister who is acting for the Premier during the latter's absence in England about the bait question, and he, while expressing sympathy with my views, gave a very non-committal answer. I much fear that in the present temper of the colony little will be done, even by private persons.

A few days after the last entry in the diary, I, by medical advice, started on a voyage to England, and as I intended to return within six weeks, I left my wife and family behind me with Bethell to take care of them. The season was not sufficiently advanced to admit of the safe passage of the iron steamers which, during the summer and early autumn months, carry mails and passengers directly between St. John's and Liverpool, so that their terminus on the American side during the rest of the year is at Halifax.

[1] With reference to this report, I may mention that some years before, when I was in Fiji, a leading permanent official in a private letter had, apparently under inspiration, asked of me whether I would accept the government of Western Australia. Gold had not then been discovered there, and the colony, besides being of little importance, presented no prospect of much useful work. As I was not then anticipating the breakdown of health which occurred shortly afterwards, and acceptance would have involved a great sacrifice of salary, I replied in the negative. In the event this turned out to be a mistake, for the climate of Western Australia is one of the best in the world.

[2] Dr. (now Sir) William MacGregor, who had been attending the Australasian Federal Council in Tasmania as representative of Fiji, wrote me word afterwards with regard to the malicious statements above referred to, that he had in loyalty to his former chief completely convinced his brother delegates of their falsehood. But unfortunately plausible lies have ordinarily more effect upon the general public than their refutation, which in this case, as far as I know, was never published.

Accordingly I embarked for the latter port in the steamer *Newfoundland*, which at that time was used for this service during the winter. For safety in ice she was built of wood, there being, I was told, sixteen feet of solid oak to protect the bows. The sea was calm all the way; but as we approached the Nova Scotian coast we entered a field of ice, which gradually became more and more dense until in an ordinary vessel it would have been impossible to proceed. Then became useful the peculiar construction of our ship with its solid bow. For some hours we were continually charging the ice, backing when brought to a standstill, and then driving forward at full speed, so as to break through. For more than an hour, however, even this proceeding failed of effect, and we stuck fast. Several of the passengers got out on the ice, and I myself endeavoured to do so in order to experience the curious sensation of walking upon the sea; but unfortunately I was too stiff to enable me to get down the ladder in safety, and I was compelled to refrain. At length a breeze sprang up, and the ice breaking up somewhat, we were able to get through, and reached Halifax the next morning.

At Halifax I found in command of the troops of the station Lord Alexander Russell, whom I had known twenty-five years before, when he was commanding the first battalion of the Rifle Brigade in Canada. He kindly put me up for the night, as the Allan steamer, which was to take me to England, did not leave until the following day. Lord Alexander's military secretary being my friend Colonel (now General) Lane, I spent the few hours of my stay at Halifax as pleasantly as my condition admitted of.

On the voyage across the captain told me that on a previous passage there had been on board a lady of religious proclivities who had distributed tracts among the crew, and appeared to take great interest in their present and future. A wag among them having told her that one of their number was a poet, she evinced special interest in this man, and

asked him to repeat some of his poetry. After a show of great reluctance to comply, he at length repeated one verse, of which a euphemised paraphrase is as follows:—

"There was a blooming sparrow
Went up a blooming spout;
But came a blooming thunderstorm
Which washed the beggar out!"

This was, naturally, quite enough for the good lady, who precipitately retired from the scene. What struck me about this story was its incongruity with our surroundings. It was told at midnight on the bridge, as we were passing over the Banks of Newfoundland in dense fog, with the horns and bells of fishing vessels sounding in all directions.

I spent the greater part of the three weeks of my stay in England at Brooks's, where bedrooms had recently been provided for members' convenience.

Nothing worth recording occurred at this time, except the extraordinary coincidence previously mentioned in connection with Australian racing.

I could hear nothing as to any chance of promotion, and in consequence I left on the return voyage to Newfoundland not in the best of spirits, but otherwise fairly well. The sea was mostly without a ripple, and but for a very gentle motion, telling of past or distant storms, I might have imagined myself passing over a small inland lake.[1]

[1] On large lakes, such as those of North America, I may mention as a fact not generally known that sickness is apt to be more violent than on the ocean, or even than on narrow seas such as the British Channel. I have myself seen a sailor prostrated by it who was not affected at all by the greater waves of salt water.

HONG KONG

HONG KONG

CHAPTER I

Return to Newfoundland—Accept government of Hong Kong—Demonstrations of regret at our departure—Naval review at Portsmouth—Amusing story—Parting visit to Mr. Gladstone—Voyage to Quebec—Dr. Barnardo and his boy-emigrants—The Canadian Pacific—Winnipeg—Glacier House—Extraordinary force of avalanche—Victoria, Vancouver's Island—Chief Justice Begbie—Across Pacific to Japan—Uncomfortable ship and serious illness on voyage—Yokohama—Trait of Europeans in the Far East—Tokio—Kobe—Kioto—News from England of birth of daughter—Extraordinary instance of Buddhist devotion.

I HAD been three days in Newfoundland on my return from England, when the Secretary of State cabled me an offer to recommend me to Her Majesty for the government of Hong Kong. The salary of this post being equivalent to £5,000, was £800 more than that which I had received in Fiji, and double that of Newfoundland. Moreover, the position involved a distinct rise in the official hierarchy and promised interesting work connected with a progressive colony, while it would afford the opportunity of learning something through personal contact of the interesting empires of the Far East. On the other hand, there were domestic difficulties. I still suffered from the effects of the concussion of some months before; my wife was far from well, and the climate of Newfoundland was doing much to restore the health which had suffered so severely at Suva. Were I to break down at Hong Kong before completing the four years of service necessary for a first-class pension, I should, besides the loss of health, be

in no better position pecuniarily than if I had remained in Newfoundland.

Thus the offer demanded mature consideration. While returning due thanks for it, I asked permission to postpone decision for a few days. Had there been only myself to consider, I should have had no hesitation about accepting at once. But I knew my wife would never consent to leave me alone in the East while there was a possibility of joining me, and as that would involve all the anxieties with children which had been experienced in previous long voyages, I was very doubtful whether regard for my family should not cause me to decline the promotion.

My wife, however, quickly dispelled my doubts. Despite her sad experiences in the past, she persuaded me that if I was willing to run the risk on my own account, I should be moved by no other considerations. And so I telegraphed to the Secretary of State my acceptance of his offer.

The announcement of my approaching departure was received with such universal expressions of regret, coming from all religious denominations and political parties, that I was assailed by fresh doubts whether I had been right in giving up a position in which I had been fortunate enough to create such warmth of feeling.

Both houses of the Legislature presented me with addresses which, in the strength of appreciative language, had, I was informed, no parallel in the previous history of the colony. The Chamber of Commerce, in an address expressing "extreme regret," gave voice to a sentiment which was apparent in many other directions by the following paragraph:—

"Entrusted by the Imperial Government on your arrival in this colony with the mission of endeavouring to procure the assent of the Legislature to an arrangement with the French Government in regard to certain parts of our coast and its fisheries which would have been detrimental to our interests, your Excellency became almost immediately alive to the true bearing of the pro-

posed measure, and lent your powerful aid to convince Her Majesty's Government of the disastrous effects which would follow its ratification. By the able manner in which your Excellency advocated the rights as well as the interests of this colony, and which doubtless in no small degree assisted in obtaining the assent of the home Government to the Bait Bill, recently enacted by the local Legislature, your Excellency has earned the gratitude of the whole colony."

But pleasing as were these manifestions of appreciation, I am not sure that I was not more gratified by the concord of regret evinced by religious denominations which I found on my arrival in an attitude of such bitter hostility. The clergy and laymen of the Methodist Church, after recognising "the urbanity you have invariably shown in your public capacity, and the deep interest you have had in the welfare and progress of the colony," and after recounting acts and words of my wife and myself which had assisted and encouraged them, expressed "unfeigned regret" at our departure, and wished us all possible happiness in the future. And on the other hand, the head of the Catholics, the metropolitan Bishop of St. John's, at a fête given by him in my honour, publicly stated that in my short tenure of office I had brought about a religious peace such as had been for many years unknown.

I left Newfoundland and my many friends there with regret. The sad history of the colony and our national neglect of its welfare during three centuries had interested me so much that I should have liked nothing better than to be allowed a free hand to make amends for the past. Even within the very restricted sphere of duty which belongs to a Constitutional Governor, I was glad to think I had done something in this direction. Though the opportunity afforded me for this line of action was no doubt exceptional, I was nevertheless confirmed in the opinion, formed long before, that while in some of the Crown Colonies where there are different races with sharply opposed interests the unpopularity of a Governor may be in direct proportion to

the performance of duty, the case is in a Constitutional Colony almost exactly reversed. I hold, indeed, that generally speaking, if not universally, a Constitutional Governor, if he is unpopular, is unsuited to his position—and this though he may have no opportuuity, as I had, for fighting the colony's battles. He has, on a small scale, within his narrower sphere, duties and limits of action precisely similar to those which attach to the Sovereign in Great Britain. If he properly fulfils the former and restrains himself within the latter, though he may be cavilled at by a few, he will meet with the approval of the great majority.

We reached England when the Jubilee celebration in London was over, but I was fortunate enough to have the opportunity of seeing, from a well-placed yacht, the great naval review at Portsmouth. I can hardly imagine a display better adapted to impress a spectator with the might of the empire and with the greatness of its Sovereign.

When dining with Lord and Lady Constance Stanley (the present Lord and Lady Derby) shortly after my arrival in England, I heard an amusing story. The leader of the House of Commons, referring to the then weak condition of the Government, said, I think to Mr. Horace Plunkett, "I wonder whether we shall last the session?" To which the latter replied, "Oh yes, I think so. The position of the Government reminds me of the Yankee who, when asked how he was going to get from New York to San Francisco without paying his fare, said, 'I guess I shall get into the cars; I know I shall get kicked out at every station, but if my *back* holds out, I shall get to 'Frisco.'"

The Colonial Office being of opinion that Hong Kong had been too long under Acting-Governors, my stay in England was very short. Just before my departure a great friend who was in very intimate relations with Mr. Gladstone persuaded me to pay him a parting visit. I did so with some reluctance, because he was aware that my views were in direct opposition to his on the subject then largely engaging his thoughts.

I found the "Grand Old Man" in the garden at Dollis Hill, where he was then staying, surrounded by a considerable party of afternoon visitors. Among these were several Arabs in their national costume, whose entertainment had been entrusted to Miss Margot Tennant. This duty she was discharging to perfection, as might be expected; these dusky gentlemen listening to her with rapt attention and moving after her in a string, like a flock of sheep following their leader.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone spoke to me kindly about my new appointment; the former afterwards turning to his other guests and talking with the earnestness which was natural to him, in a voice audible many yards away. When the time came for "Good-bye" I felt considerable embarrassment. He was already an old man, and with the probability of not returning to England for six years, I could hardly expect to see him again. The occasion had thus in it a certain pathos which strongly inclined me to say something politically agreeable; but I disapproved in the strongest manner of his latest doings, and especially his continual emphasis on the differences between class and class, which, even if he were as right as I believed him to be wrong in his Irish views, was to me like letting in a deluge to put out a fire. Being thus unable to wish him success in what was then his principal object, I merely shook hands and expressed the hope that on my return I should find him equally strong in health and voice. But he seemed to expect something more, and, missing it, replied, with special and stately emphasis, "Thank you, and I hope *equally strong in my cause.*" I went away somewhat nonplussed, but I rejoice to add that my last interview with the "Grand Old Man," some years afterwards, was on both sides of a much more cordial character.

It was necessary that my wife should remain in England for some months; and so, accompanied only by Bethell, I left Liverpool on the 11th August in the Allan liner *Parisian.*

Among the passengers was Dr. Barnardo, who was taking to Canada a large number of his protégés, and was accompanied by his family and several servants. I had respect for his useful vocation, and so was glad to preside at a meeting held in the saloon for the purpose of assisting it. I afterwards had interesting conversations with several of the boys, whose histories convinced me that good work had been done in reclaiming them. They were all devoted to the officer placed in immediate charge of them; but on the subject of Dr. Barnardo himself they maintained a significant silence. I imagine the cause of this to have been his unsympathetic and *de-haut-en-bas* manner to them, which, as I have often observed in life, is apt to outweigh the consideration of many benefits.

We crossed the continent in the Canadian Pacific Railway; and not having had, as on previous railway journeys in America and Australia, any special accommodation, I was astonished at the excellence of all arrangements for comfort. The food supplied, though simple, was as well cooked and served as in the best hotels, while in no other respect was there any cause for the grumbles to which travellers ordinarily give vent on the smallest provocation. Continual forest on level ground, almost undisturbed by settlement, and afterwards the equally monotonous prairie, rendered the first two or three days somewhat tedious. But once the Rocky Mountains were reached, the scenery left nothing to be wished in grandeur and beauty.

As the long journey was causing me to feel severely the spinal injury which I had suffered in the spring, we stopped twice on the way. At Winnipeg I had the opportunity of observing how extraordinarily rapid must have been the growth of that flourishing town from the puny settlement which existed at the time of Wolseley's expedition only twenty years before. I noticed at the same time that the inhabitants generally had a ruddy appearance of health such as I had seen nowhere else on the North American continent.

Our second rest was at the Glacier House, in the Rockies, where the pleasure derived from magnificent scenery was enhanced by the comfort of an excellent little hotel belonging to the railway company. While staying here my ideas were enlarged with regard to the force of an avalanche. Great trees which had evidently been torn up by the roots lay on the side of the railway line, and I was solemnly assured that these had been carried there by an avalanche of the previous winter, the path of which, owing to forest bordering it on either side, was visible on the neighbouring mountain. How these trees could have been carried to the place where I saw them in a huge confused mass is even now entirely beyond my comprehension. For between this place and the mountain from which the avalanche came there was a ravine, which was more than one hundred feet deep, and I can hardly suppose that any large proportion of this depth was filled with snow sufficiently hard to permit the débris of the avalanche to rebound so far upwards.

A clergyman whom I met there told me that he had seen a large avalanche descending, and that huge trees seemed to fall in front of it and considerably before it reached them. As evidence of the enormous pressure upon the air produced by the rapidly falling mass and the force of the wind thus created in the effort to escape, he showed me a railway workman, who, seeing an avalanche coming, had rushed for safety into one of the long sheds which protect the line from danger. He was only just in time to escape being overwhelmed; for the wind of the avalanche caught him as he entered the tunnel, and hurling him some fifty feet along it, caused him injuries from which he had not yet recovered.

On leaving Glacier House the scenery was quite as fine as on the previous days, and many views of the Fraser River were beautiful, though wanting, comparatively speaking, the element of grandeur. However, after three days of continuous wonders the eye became so satiated with the sublime that possibly one at last looked with indifference

upon what would at other times have excited unbounded admiration. Long before this journey came to an end we had exhausted the whole vocabulary of appreciation, and almost longed for a bit of commonplace country.

On reaching Vancouver we found that the *Abyssinia*, in which we were to go to Hong Kong, would not sail for some days, and we therefore proceeded to Victoria, Vancouver's Island, to spend the intervening time. In that town much more hospitality and civility was offered to me than it would have been possible to accept, even had I not been so severely shaken by the journey.

Among the residents of Victoria, my short acquaintance with whom I specially remember with pleasure, were Chief Justice Sir Matthew Begbie and Judge Gray, each of whom would have been an acquisition to any society. The former was a wonderful old man of seventy-two, who could play lawn-tennis, and play it well, all the afternoon, and then sit up to a late hour smoking, retaining his cheery manner to the end, and evidently not in the least tired. He abounded in amusing anecdote, and his conversation, including the relation of his experiences, was most interesting. I was sorry, however, to hear him say that, in his opinion, British Columbia would eventually join the United States, its interests being so much more intimately bound up with them than with the rest of Canada. Happily there is as yet no patent sign of his prophecy proving true.

In passing through Vancouver I had gone on board the *Abyssinia* to see the accommodation provided for us. The ship had been used as a cattle boat, and had grievously changed for the worse since the time, seven years before, when we had crossed in her to New York. In consequence of my energetic remonstrance, some improvement in cleanliness had been made before we embarked. But though I had what was regarded as the best cabin of the ship, that could not be called comfortable. For on one side of me was a store of dirty linen, and on the other a cabin full of new blankets, almost equally odorous. In no respect was

the ship fit for the carriage of first-class passengers, and judging from the reports which reached me of the fine vessels which the Canadian Pacific Railway Company put upon this route shortly afterwards, it must have been in every way a contrast to them. The prospect of the voyage for a sick man was not improved by the absence of any ship's doctor, the one engaged having, I was informed, been left behind on account of his drunkenness. Fortunately for me, as it turned out, there was among the few passengers Dr. Morris, an Australian physician, but for whose presence on board I should in all probability have not lived to write this.

We were brought on board by the Admiral's launch, which in his absence had been kindly lent to me by Flag-Captain Rose. After the first three days one who believed that the Pacific everywhere deserved its name would have been rudely undeceived. For the sea became very rough, and remained so until we were close to Yokohama. As we neared port the greater part of the coal-supply had been consumed, and as there was but little cargo the motion of the ship, which had been bad from the first, became such as I never experienced before or since. Barely a minute passed without the screw getting out of the water, shaking the vessel from end to end and utterly preventing sleep. The weather, especially when we were near the Aleutian Islands, was very cold. The crew, the passengers, and the officers (among whom I may include the captain's wife, for whose accommodation a large portion of the little saloon had been cut off) evinced a general lugubriousness; so that on the whole this was the most dismal voyage of my experience. My health, bad at starting, became very bad indeed in the course of a few days. But though I was less sea-sick than usual, and frequently went to meals in the saloon, I became distinctly weaker and weaker. At last, when we had been some ten days out, matters came to a crisis. One evening after several nights of sleeplessness, I became deadly faint, and Bethell, who was with me, rushed

off for Dr. Morris. He at once administered brandy, and only just in time, for my heart seemed for some seconds to have ceased beating. Under the treatment of this able physician I became gradually better, and was fairly well when we arrived at Yokohama (24th September), the seventeenth day after leaving Vancouver.

The strange civilisation of Japan and the curious scenes to be witnessed there at every turn greatly impressed me. In the few days the vessel remained in harbour, though still very far from well, I managed to see much worth seeing. Our countrymen whom I met there seemed to me for the most part somewhat aggressively British—in fact (if I may be permitted to indulge in canine Latinity), *ipsis Britannis Britanniores*—and to take apparently a pride in being entirely out of sympathy with the people among whom they lived and made their living. It occurred to me then, as it did often afterwards, that if members of the mercantile communities of the Far East were to make more effort to understand the point of view of the people of the country, whether Japanese or Chinese, it would not be the worse for either side—or for the world in general. One of the effects of this extreme aloofness is that strangers are apt to be most misled about the peoples of Japan and China by those who have lived longest among them, and whose accurate knowledge of them is therefore taken for granted.

We had a glimpse of Tokio—the new capital—and its teeming population, when after a short railway journey, we went to luncheon at the Legation with the *chargé d'affaires*, Mr. Trench. He kindly sent his brougham to meet us at the station, and I was amazed as well as amused at the easy way in which the running footman kept up with the fast rolling carriage and occasionally jumped up on the box, apparently for variety only, while we were in extremely rapid motion. After "tiffin" Mr. Trench, with Mr. Clarke Thornhill, an attaché of the Legation, took us for a drive through the crowded streets. What I saw there made me

feel, as I expressed it at the time, "as if I had jumped upon another planet."

Returning to Yokohama, we went on board our vessel, which left at once for Kobe. On leaving the harbour we had a fine view of the majestic peak of Fusiyama, which, with its snowy summit, Japanese art has made more familiar probably to the majority of Europeans than any mountain in the world, not excepting Vesuvius.

Kobe, with its foreign community, was only a repetition of Yokohama on a smaller scale, and I preferred to spend the few days of the ship's stay in port in the purely Japanese city of Kioto, which, of course, possesses special interest as the ancient capital of the country. At Yaami's hotel in that city I heard by telegraph of the advent of our younger daughter, who had been born at my brother Henry's house in Grosvenor Place the day before.

While at Kioto we witnessed a remarkable instance of Buddhist devotion, which I have not seen described elsewhere. In the course of a visit to a temple in course of construction I noticed a rope of very unusual appearance hanging from the rafters. It proved to be composed entirely of the hair of women, who had sacrificed it willingly for the purpose of assisting the construction of the sacred edifice. We found that there were fifteen of these ropes, not differing greatly in size, the largest being, we are told, one hundred and twenty yards long, while we measured it to be fifteen inches round. The number of women who had contributed must have been many thousands. A considerable portion of them must have been old, as one could see many strands of grey amidst the more prevalent black.

At Yaami's hotel, which stood on a considerable eminence, one could hear, at five o'clock in the morning, gongs booming at intervals from many quarters of the great city. The sounds, though coming from metal, were not unlike those produced from the wooden lalis of Fiji, and were specially weird amid silence affording so strong a contrast with the busy hum of men which prevailed during the daylight

hours and far into the night. The object was to summon worshippers to early service in the temples, and one was reminded of the matins bells of Western civilisation. Under widely different circumstances the same need of humanity has been supplied in a similar manner. The early resort to church or temple no doubt renders it easier to bear the toils and trials of the succeeding day by conjuring up a mental vision of a better world or at least of rest hereafter.

CHAPTER II

Arrive at Hong Kong—Description of Government House: its surroundings and night view from roof—Prince Devawongse of Siam—Mr. George Curzon—Amusing stories—A disappointed guest—Tun-wah Hospital—Government Hospital—Gaol—Kowloon Docks—Tytam waterworks—Celebration of Queen's Jubilee—A levée—Review—Marvellous illuminations—Extraordinary Chinese procession—Colonists' ball—Unveil statue of Sir Arthur Kennedy—A Chinese dinner—The fortifications—Admiral Ting—Abundant salutes—The races—A bird's-eye view and its incongruities—Amateur theatricals—Voyage to Singapore—Saigon—Governor-General Constant—Return to Hong Kong by Nord-Deutscher Lloyd's steamer.

WE arrived in Hong Kong in the early morning of October 6th, a fine day, which showed to the best advantage the very beautiful harbour. Looking at the abundant shipping (including many ocean steamers, some large sailing clippers, and innumerable junks), the imposing front of the crowded city beyond, and, on the mainland of China, the town of British Kowloon, already growing into importance, I could not help marvelling at the contrast between this scene and the one witnessed here forty-seven years before, when a visiting man-of-war would have found itself alone in the harbour, and when the island was inhabited only by a few fishermen and pirates, and, according to the report of an engineer of the time, contained apparently only one site fit for a European house. What a monument of British enterprise!

Shortly after we cast anchor General Cameron, who, as commanding the troops, had been acting for me, came on board, and it was arranged that I should land at half-past ten. As I left the ship in the large steam-launch *Victoria*, which is in Hong Kong provided for the Governor's use (and, like many others used there, is really a small yacht),

the usual salute of seventeen guns was fired from the man-of-war hulk *Victor Emmanuel*, which was then the head-quarters of the Commodore. As we passed to the wharf guards were turned out and presented arms on the other warships in harbour, and as I landed a shore battery also saluted. On the wharf were the General and his staff, the whole of the Legislative Council, the foreign consuls, and a large number of public officials. After shaking hands with a considerable number whom the General presented to me by name, and inspecting the guard of honour, behind which was a dense mass of Chinese, I drove off with the General to the public buildings, where I was shortly afterwards "sworn in" before the Legislative Council, and made a very brief speech on the occasion.

Accompanied by the General, I then proceeded to Government House, which at once struck me as particularly convenient in design and a model residence for a tropical climate. It was far superior, indeed, as regards comfort, to other Government Houses of a more pretentious character, which have been since built at much greater cost. An idea of its outside appearance can be gathered from the photograph facing page 288. The roof was flat, and offered a magnificent view of the town and harbour, thus permitting of agreeable exercise in illness or at other times when seclusion was desirable. The grounds were not very large, hardly exceeding two acres in extent, with flowering trees at the sides. Beyond the offices and servants' quarters was another space containing two asphalted lawn-tennis courts for use in rainy weather, or at garden-parties, when there were too many players for the other three turf-courts. Looking towards the Peak[1] might be seen the houses of the more well-to-do inhabitants rising tier over tier amid surrounding foliage for a third of the distance up the mountain.

An effective supplement to the somewhat restricted

[1] The highest of the range of mountains which form the backbone of the island.

grounds of Government House was the Botanic Garden, separated only by a road. Situated in a climate barely tropical, it was inferior to the Trinidad garden in luxuriance of foliage, but had nevertheless a beauty of its own which could hardly be surpassed. Placed on a slope which enabled the greater part of it to be taken in by a single *coup d'œil*, its general effect was striking. Considering that its site was originally bare rock, out of which a large portion of it had originally been scooped, and that most of the soil supporting the vegetation had been borne thither, the place was typical of the enterprise everywhere evident in this remarkable little colony.

Looking out at night from the front gallery of Government House, before the moon had risen, I witnessed an effect which was quite new to me. The sky, though clear of clouds, was somewhat hazy, so that the small-magnitude stars were not visible, though some of the larger ones were plain enough. Beneath, however, the air was quite clear, and consequently, though the vessels in the harbour were invisible in the darkness, their innumerable lights seemed like another hemisphere of stars even more numerous than the others, and differing only as being redder.

Official work occupied me immediately after my arrival. Social duties also began at once.

General Cameron had rightly anticipated my wishes in inviting to stay at Government House the Siamese Prince who, with three nephews and a retinue of some fourteen persons, was on his return home from Her Majesty's Jubilee, where he had been representing his Sovereign. Lack of bedrooms, the only defect of the house, prevented me from "putting up" more than four of the party. The others were therefore of necessity quartered at the hotel, though occasionally coming to meals.

I found Prince Devawongse to be a man of remarkable ability, whose conversation afforded me much interest. Though one of his staff, the Governor of one of the Siamese provinces, was a typical Chinaman, the Prince himself, in

face no less than in the progressive spirit which he evinced, seemed to be much nearer akin to the Japanese. We played billiards in the evening, to which game he was evidently no stranger. Moreover, he talked English well, and I found pleasure in entertaining him. The others of the party, however, could talk little of any language but their own, and seemed almost as frightened of opening their mouths as if that would involve the loss of their heads. So that the task devolved upon my staff was by no means so easy.

In the next few days of their stay I invited to meet them at dinner the General and some of his family, the Commodore (Maxwell), the acting Chief Justice (Sir James Russell), Lord and Lady Loudoun (who were on a globe-trotting journey), the Surveyor-General (Mr. Price), two Chinese Governors of Siamese provinces (who came in the long pigtails and silk gowns of their national costume), besides several others. During the day, by means of a hired carriage and the steam-launch, I managed to occupy the time of my visitors with sight-seeing, in which they evidently took much interest. The Prince at his departure, after a five days' visit, was profuse in his recognition of what had been done for him.

I found entertaining comparatively easy. The Chinese "comprador" and cook between them managed to provide in a wonderful way for unexpected guests at extremely short notice, and the waiting of the Chinese servants was exceptionally good. Rather different from that of an English footman was their dress of long blue gowns, white gaiters, thick Chinese shoes with white soles, and pigtails hanging almost to the ground.

In the course of the first six months after my arrival in Hong Kong I had at dinner and luncheon over four hundred guests, including such as came more than once, and had also some dances and many lawn-tennis parties. Acquaintance with "society" was made in the first instance by "receptions," and previous to these, in order to soothe the susceptibilities of ladies who had compunctions about call-

ing upon one living *en garçon*, I caused to be inserted in the *Gazette* a notice that "Mrs. Cameron, in the absence of Lady Des Vœux, has kindly consented to assist H.E. on the occasion." There were a few people whom I liked much from the first and liked still better as time went on; but, taken as a whole, I preferred the more homely society of Newfoundland.

During this period, as indeed during all our winter seasons in Hong Kong, I had an almost continuous succession of guests staying in the house, among them being Mr. George Curzon (now Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India), Lord Eustace Cecil and his son. Of Mr. Curzon, after a short acquaintance, I wrote that he "is a young fellow who, besides abnormally good abilities, has other qualities which many clever men are without, viz. an exceptional breadth of view and power of seeing and appreciating the point of view of others. As he has besides particularly agreeable manners, he will, if he lives, some day come to the fore."

Besides giving me much valuable information, Curzon told me a good story about a well-known English politician notorious for his cynical audacity. An old man, coming up to the politician in question, said to him, "I am so glad to meet you, Mr. Z., for I knew your dear grandmother very well indeed; many a long and agreeable tête-à-tête did I have with her years ago." To which Z. replied, shaking with great warmth the hand of his grandmother's friend, "And I am delighted to meet *you*; for all I know you may be my grandfather!"

Two other stories told of the same politician are equally characteristic. Many years ago an acquaintance accosted Z., whom he wrongly imagined to be the son, and not, as he actually was, the nephew, of a certain well-known peer, with the remark, "I have just seen your father in the House of Lords." "Indeed," replied Z.; "I am very glad to hear news of him. He has been dead six years, and I didn't know where he was!"

The other one is that, coming away from an unsuccessful

interview with a well-known minister, Z. is reported to have said, "By G—! that old man always plays with an ace up his sleeve, and, what's more, is fully persuaded that God Almighty put it there!"

Here is still another story obtained from one of my English guests. The father of a well-known diplomatist was a missionary clergyman, who during a long sojourn in the East had acquired very eccentric habits. Shortly after his wedding with Lady G. X., an earl's daughter, the newly married couple were starting for a country visit, when the bride asked her husband where his luggage was. He replied that he had got none, but explained that he had on him seven shirts, one of which he should take off on each day of the visit, so that he needed nothing else!

Connected with the levée which I had shortly after my arrival occurred an amusing incident. An hour or two after the function had come to an end one of my staff received a letter from a Mr. S., a new arrival, apologising for having presented himself too early among the leading public officers and others who in colonies constitute what remotely corresponds to the *entrée* at the English Court. The next day, before he had received verbal reassurance with regard to an apparently unintentional mistake, there came from him another long letter complaining of the "heavy penalty" inflicted on him by the non-inclusion of his name in the published list of visitors. Needless to say, the omission was quite as unintentional as his mistake, and was simply due to the fact that he had not written his name, as others had done, in the visitors' book.

Ninety-five ladies came to the "reception," including one Japanese (the Consul's wife) and two Parsees in their national costume. Mrs. Cameron proved of great assistance, and the General had sent the regimental band; so that the affair went off very well. Those present had no inconsiderable share of beauty; and dress, though not as extravagant as that to be seen at Melbourne entertainments, savoured more of fashion and expenditure than any I had

seen in other colonies, even in the richer community of Sydney. Speaking generally, people in the tropics spend much more than elsewhere in proportion to their means. The income of the moment, though often very precarious, is treated as if permanent, and luxurious living is frequently followed by extreme indigence. I would add, however, that when this occurs and becomes known, it is usually aided by an abnormal liberality.

But disguise it as I might, my life here, as elsewhere, was a continual struggle against serious ill-health. On one occasion, after several sleepless nights, I had an attack of syncope, when my Cinghalese servant rushed off to Bethell to say I was dying or dead. But though frequently urged to take leave of absence, I held on, and though the effects of many illnesses and accidents never permitted me to attain any near approach to robustness, I recovered sufficient strength to do much work, which I trust has proved to be of permanent usefulness to the colony. In the tropics, as unfortunately I did not learn until too late, exceptional physical strength is required to labour mentally for many hours, and to take severe bodily exercise afterwards. So that tired with office work I used to seek relaxation in lawn tennis (often single) and subsequently in golf, the excitement of the game causing unconsciousness of fatigue, but producing complete prostration afterwards. I mention this as a warning to others against this mistake, satisfied that but for it my career would not have been prematurely brought to an end, and that instead of having been compelled to pass the last eleven years in comparative idleness, I should still in all probability have been rendering useful service.

One of my first official visits in the colony was to the Tung-wah Hospital, managed and doctored exclusively by Chinese. "Though it receives a considerable Government subsidy," I wrote at the time, "more than half the funds which support it are contributed voluntarily by Chinese merchants. The treatment for all but the simplest diseases

is probably little else than quackery, and the death-rate is enormous; but it is found that the great majority of Chinese will not go into our hospitals at all, and not into any until they are almost moribund. The place was much cleaner than I had been led to expect, but there had probably been a great preparatory washing up. Some of the wards, moreover, were airy and nice enough; but those for the hopeless cases were terribly hot, and the lunatic ward was shocking to our modern notions, though not worse, or so bad, as some were in England thirty years ago. I insisted on seeing all the patients, including some suffering from small-pox, believing that the moral effect of the visit would be salutary in various ways."

This visit caused me anxious thought. I disliked the payment of Government funds in support of an institution in which the care and treatment of patients were ao alien, in some respects so abhorrent, to the ideas of modern civilisation. But on the other hand, all my advisers, who were best acquainted with the Far East, were unanimous in the opinion that either the withdrawal of support or any attempt to interfere with the management would do more harm than good. In either case the institution would in all probability be closed, and this, however great its defects, was useful for needs which it would be impracticable to supply otherwise. The leading Chinese merchants evidently looked upon the position of manager of the hospital as an honourable one; and as our modes of treatment were as repulsive to most of them as theirs to us, they would certainly withhold their large contributions from an institution under European management; while without compulsion, which would be strenuously resisted or evaded by those who formed the great majority of the inhabitants, many of the sick, who now had at least a roof to cover them, would die in the streets or on "sampans" in the harbour. The tendency to benevolence in the more well-to-do Chinese is in singular contrast to the extraordinary indifference to human life so frequently shown by the labouring class, to

which I shall refer hereafter, and to place a check upon it, however ill-directed, would in itself be a serious matter.

I reluctantly came to the conclusion, therefore, that any effective change from the existing state of things must be slow and gradual. The object of Government must be to improve as far as possible the institutions under its immediate control, and thus by force of example to convince the Chinese of the superiority of our methods of treatment. I am glad to think that during my administration of Hong Kong substantial progress was made in this direction. It was not easy to overcome the prejudices of a people who firmly believe that their experience is more valuable than ours owing to the longer period of their civilisation. But the policy of improving the hospital by example, carried on to this day, has succeeded beyond my expectations. A European doctor is now attached to the institution as visiting physician and surgeon, and a Chinese doctor, trained in Western medical science, resides in the hospital as house surgeon. Surgery, which in my time was entirely neglected, is now practised.

The Government hospital I found in excellent order, but the accommodation, though sufficient for the number of patients desiring admittance, was for the reason above indicated altogether out of proportion to the needs of such a population, and presented a striking contrast in size with the principal public hospital of Trinidad, or even with the largest of those which I had established in St. Lucia. Skilled assistance to the doctors in the care of patients was evidently a serious want; and this in the course of my administration I was able to supply by a staff of trained nurses[1] procured from Europe.

The gaol, though apparently kept in a condition of perfect order and cleanliness by its governor, General

[1] My first experiment with European nurses proved a failure. Partly because marriageable women in Hong Kong are apt to become very quickly married, and partly because sisters of a Roman Catholic order had been for some years doing admirable service in the public hospital at Shanghai, we also engaged sisters of a nursing order. They proved, however, not only to have

Gordon, was evidently too small for the number of prisoners confined in it, two being in many instances confined in a single cell. The population had greatly increased since the buildings were erected, and enlargement was necessary to provide against the manifold evils attendant upon overcrowding. The Colonial Office had been urging the construction of an entirely new prison upon a site outside the town. But the cost would have been very great—considerably over £100,000—and in view of an imminent demand for a largely increased military contribution to Imperial funds, I inclined strongly to the less costly expedient of an enlargement of the existing buildings; for this, it seemed to me, would enable provision of separate cells with adequate cubic space for more than the average number of prisoners. The Colonial Office, however, would not approve of enlargement, and continually harped upon the more ambitious project, which, in the absence of positive instructions, I refrained from putting into execution. My view of the question has since my time been adopted, as I understand that a new gaol has not been built and that enlargement of the present buildings has been sanctioned by the Secretary of State and carried out.

Among the many places of interest visited were the docks of the Hong Kong and Whampoa Company, the principal of which (including one constructed of cut stone and capable of taking in for repair the largest vessel then afloat) were situated in Kowloon, the portion of the colony forming part of the mainland of China. British Kowloon—so called to distinguish it from the Chinese town [1] of the same name at a short distance beyond our boundary—was evidently growing fast, and afforded even then the prospect of some

insufficient training to satisfy the doctors, but what was of more importance, they declined attendance on certain cases, which, almost as much as any others, required skilled attention. For these reasons I was most reluctantly obliged to dispense with the services of these excellent women and to obtain trained hospital nurses from England, whose employment, despite of some marrying, has, I understand, proved highly successful.

[1] This is now included within the newly acquired territory.

day surpassing in size the parent city of Victoria—an eventuality which I regard as certain in a no very distant future, now that the accession of territory recently obtained has afforded facilities for increased security against hostile incursion.

The more I saw of Hong Kong, the more I was struck with the enterprise which had created such a city on such a spot, bearing in mind that the foundations of all the buildings—many of them of almost palatial size and appearance—and all the roads had been cut out of the solid granite, and that the trees everywhere visible over the face of the mountain had all been planted on equally unpromising soil. The roads were admirably constructed and kept, those ascending the Peak being entirely of Portland cement, so as to withstand the torrential rains, which would quickly have swept away any less durable material. But amid many remarkable public and private works the most striking of all was that which I found near completion for the supply of the city with water from the Tytam Valley at a distance of some six miles on the other side of the mountain which forms the backbone of the island.

The following, taken from one of my letters, is a description of a visit to Tytam at this time:—

"On Wednesday morning (November 23rd) Bethell and I, with Mr. Price, started on a trip to the Tytam waterworks, some six miles off. With views first on one side of the island over the harbour and towards the mainland of China, and then on the other embracing the many islands to the south, the journey over and along the hills was most enjoyable, and, as we used our chairs whenever inclined, very luxurious. Occasionally we went down into a valley, which might have been in the middle of a Scotch 'forest,' so devoid was it of any sign of human existence. It was difficult to realise we were at so short a distance from a dense population.

"After luncheon we went down to inspect the works, which are situated in a valley seemingly by its wildness

and loneliness one hundred miles from a town. A sudden turn of the road, however, showed some two thousand coolies at work, several steam-engines palpitating, and all the sounds and signs of a big undertaking in progress. The valley has been walled in about a mile from the sea, the wall being one hundred feet high, eighty feet thick at the base, and twenty-five feet at the top, entirely composed of cut granite and Portland cement. There is thus enclosed a deep lake, created by the rainfall of the neighbouring hills, and the water is to be brought to town by an aqueduct some six miles in length, which after passing through a tunnel about a mile and a half long, is carried over stone arches, some of them, I should say, over one hundred feet in height, also constructed of the same solid materials.

"After seeing all we desired, we returned by launch round the south of the island, and long before we sighted the town of Victoria, there were indications of a dense population. At Lamma Island[1] (unfortunately belonging to China) there was visible a very large number of fishing-junks packed closely together."

A few months after this visit I had the satisfaction of seeing a serious dearth of water brought to an end by a plentiful supply from the new source. Only just in time; for the next year an extraordinary drought caused the supply, even with this addition, to prove insufficient. Had the old reservoir alone been available, the consequences would, in all probability, have been disastrous.

The celebration of Her Majesty's Jubilee, postponed because its occurrence during the hot months would have rendered less effective the intended display of enthusiasm, took place in November. On the morning of the celebration the band of the regiment and a large guard of honour marched into the grounds, and my reception began. I "received" in the hall, the leading officials and some sixty military and naval officers in uniform standing on either side of me.

[1] This island is now included in the colony.

"The first arrival," I wrote in a description of the occasion at the time, "was a large deputation of Chinese, bringing a splendidly embroidered address to the Queen, containing a striking recognition of British justice. You will see in the papers my speech on the occasion. What you will not see, however, is that these very rich Chinese brought me a present of food (analogous, I suppose, to the bread and salt of other countries), consisting chiefly of two hams and a dozen of porter!! An English address was presented by Mr. Bell Irving, a member of Council; and the committee of the Chinese temple called 'Man mo' brought a tablet to adorn Government House with Chinese words upon it, signifying 'Everlasting Prosperity.' All the principal ladies of the place came, and altogether I shook hands with some four hundred people. I had speeches to make to two other deputations, and if I may judge from what was said to me and from accounts in the papers, the affair was a great success.

"At five o'clock, attended by an escort of twelve Sikh mounted police, I went down in my eight-coolie chair to review the troops. Three other Government House chairs followed, the string of bearers looking extremely well in their new bright-red liveries, white gaiters, and 'mutton-pie' hats with red tassels, a sort of European adaptation of Chinese dress, the invention of some former Governor. As I had never gone through such a function before, General Cameron gave me the necessary hints, and all went off satisfactorily. The papers describe what occurred better than I could do, and I will only add that the sight was a remarkably pretty one, the day being beautiful, and the harbour (even more blue than usual), with its abundant shipping, forming a most effective background to the lively —I may almost say brilliant—scene near at hand. Mrs. Cameron and a number of ladies stood near me at the saluting flag, and the ground occupied by the troops (artillery, engineers, and infantry) was surrounded by a dense mass of Chinese, some hundreds of whom had climbed into the neighbouring trees.

"After dinner I went out with the same escort to see the illuminations. The crowds in the streets were enormous. It is said that fifty thousand people have come from Canton; but they were fortunately most orderly and respectful, or passage through them would have been impossible. After going through the whole length of the town, the party embarked on the *Victoria*, and preceded by a police launch to show the way, we went out into the harbour to see the general effect of the illuminations and fireworks, paying visits successively to the *San Pablo*, an American ocean steamer, the *Hankow*, a large Canton river-boat, and H.M.S. *Victor Emmanuel*, each of which had large parties and suppers on board. The night navigation, with launches rushing about in all directions, was somewhat risky, but fortunately we got off with only some narrow 'shaves' and without serious accident.

"The fireworks did not come up to the expectations excited by the preparations for them, these consisting of huge erections of bamboo, one of them said to be three hundred feet high. But the illuminations were really marvellous. The Europeans and Chinese vied with one another in profusion of display, the result being a general effect finer than any I have ever seen, far finer than any in London or at the late naval review at Portsmouth. Huge bonfires on the hilltops, all the houses on several terraces one above another brilliant with gas and Chinese lanterns, some fifty ocean steamers, twenty to thirty other vessels and innumerable junks and other vessels, outlined with electric or other lights, and the opposite shores of Kowloon also ablaze, made a spectacle which could hardly be equalled outside of fairyland. The street illumination was even more marvellous, for while the gas-devices were quite as good as the best in London, Chinese and Japanese lanterns were literally in millions. From a rapid calculation made in passing, I estimate that within a distance of some three hundred yards from the City Hall alone there must have been over one hundred thousand lights, and many private

houses were simply covered with them. In the Chinese quarter the principal street was roofed in for three hundred and fifty yards, and in the whole of this space lanterns were so densely crowded as to leave scarcely any opening between them. The brilliancy of the other streets was little less striking.

"The next day early the Chinese procession made its appearance at Government House, permission having been asked, and readily given, for it to enter the grounds and pass my door. Having been misinformed as to its length, I had made an engagement for noon which I could not break, and so after watching the passing show from ten to twelve, I was obliged to leave for a time. When I returned at one, however, it was still passing, having been over four and a half miles in length. Every soul of the eight to ten thousand people who took part in this procession had on more or less gorgeous raiment. But the mixture of splendour and squalor was striking and characteristically Chinese. Many of the coolies were meanly dressed and barefooted, and yet not one of them was without a hat or a coat of gold embroidery and gorgeous in colour, evidently lent by the rich men for the occasion. There were many funny objects, the decoration of which, if it were not Chinese, one would say savoured much of lodging-house vulgarity. Little dolls'-houses were innumerable (how I wish Alice could have seen them!), and every hundred yards or so came a gilt-covered chair containing two much-painted little girls, with automatic smiles and gestures.

"At intervals were over a hundred gorgeously caparisoned ponies, carrying boys or girls representing noted personages of Chinese history; but the principal features were the dragons, of which there were four. These were about one hundred feet in length, having a frightful, and at the same time brilliant head, with burnished scales, each with a man underneath, whom it covered all but his feet. The effect was that of a huge, wriggling animal with two or three hundred legs, and the writhing of the creature,

especially when the men were showing off in front of me, was wonderfully well done. I am told that each scale was worth ten dollars, and the total cost of the procession must have been enormous. I can well believe that the materials, which came for it from Canton, were worth the million dollars for which they were insured.

"The illuminated night procession, which passed this house just before dinner, though little over a mile in length, was in its way quite as remarkable as that of the morning. There were two dragons, in shape much like those before described, but made of transparent figured silk, and brilliantly illuminated inside. Among many other transparencies there were some—probably fifty—enormous fish, accurately representing on a huge scale different varieties of the living animal. Single fish, I was told, had cost as much as a hundred dollars.

"I went through the town to see the day decorations, which were really beautiful, the innumerable lanterns with their varied colourings being nearly as effective by daylight as at night.

"After dinner I went to the citizens' ball, given in the theatre at the City Hall and four large rooms connecting with it. I was received by the committee at the door, and, as usual, the band played 'God Save the Queen' on my entering the principal ballroom. Some fourteen hundred people were present, of whom probably one thousand were men, so that the women, as is commonly the case here, probably had a 'good time.' Nowhere in the colonies, except Melbourne, have I seen so many well dressed. The supper was held in the theatre itself, my seat being in the centre of the dress circle, the whole of which, as well as the pit, was filled with tables, places being laid for seven hundred people—the largest sitting-down supper I ever saw. The food, though not, of course, up to a London or New York standard, was better than I have ever seen in the colonies, Australia not excepted. The cost of the entertainment was, I am told, eighteen thousand dollars. The

rooms were so well ventilated that the temperature was by no means oppressive; but being in my heavy full-dress uniform I should have preferred not to dance. Yet not to disappoint expectation I 'took the floor' (as the old novels have it) three times, and went away immediately after supper, though the 'Terpsichorean revelry' (according to the papers) was prolonged far into the small hours."

Apart from personal feeling, reflections upon this Jubilee celebration could not be otherwise than most gratifying to a loyal subject of the Crown. The British colonists, with the hearty co-operation of many Germans and other foreigners, had shown themselves at least as appreciative of Her Majesty's great qualities as her subjects in other parts of the Empire, and had evidently made strenuous efforts to provide a display worthy of the occasion. But what was far more striking was the feeling which animated the Chinese. They had spent, it is believed, something not far short of one hundred thousand pounds in giving it expression, so that the florid assertions in their address had evidently more meaning than such language usually imports. There could hardly be more striking proof of their appreciation of the government to which they had been subject during Her Majesty's reign.

The Jubilee celebration was, however, saddened by an unfortunate accident. Two sailors were killed on board the *Mutine* in firing a salute, and two of the Royal Engineers met with a similar fate by the explosion of a heap of rockets they were preparing for use. I desired to attend the funeral, but various difficulties were raised on behalf of the Navy (apparently because my going would compel all the officers to attend also, and in uniform). It seemed to me, however, that such a mark of sympathy was imperative in the case of men who had lost their lives in the performance of their duty under such circumstances, and I adhered to my intention. And so the ceremony, in which both sailors and soldiers took part, was worthy of the sad occasion. I walked up to the grave where the service was

read with the General on one side and the Commodore on the other, the volleys being fired by the bluejackets and redcoats simultaneously. The cemetery is situated on the sides of the central mountain, where it slopes gently into the "Happy Valley," which has probably been named from it. Owing to the picturesqueness of the site, combined with skilful planting of trees and landscape gardening, this seemed to me to be the most beautiful burying-ground I ever saw, not excepting that of Savannah, in Georgia, which after thirty years I still remembered for its avenues of magnificent trees covered with drooping grey moss. This condition of the Happy Valley was principally the creation of Mr. Price, the Surveyor-General, and is only one of many monuments of his taste and energy.

The following extract from one of my letters describes a dinner given by leading Chinese which I attended about this time:—

"A curious experience it was, which I am glad to have gone through for once. I send you the 'bill of fare' containing a combination of European dishes with orthodox Chinese food. After I had overcome a strong disinclination to eat at all, and had managed to taste such things as bird's-nest soup and sharks' fins, a suspicious-looking species of fungus, and eggs said to be fifty years old, my very visible illness stood me in good stead as an excuse for making no further efforts. The bird's-nest soup was not bad, though rather tasteless, something like softened gum-arabic in gravy; and though I cannot say that anything else was nasty, the cloudy-brown sauce which covered most of the food was not appetising, and imagination played such tricks that each mouthful caused me a violent effort to hide the sickness which I actually felt. So for the last (fifteen to twenty) courses I pleaded doctor's orders and declined, with expressions of much regret, to eat more. Being asked what I would like to drink, many varieties of liquid, European (including champagne) and Chinese being lavishly provided, I chose whisky. A bottle of this being placed beside me,

I took a thimbleful. Finding that that quantity had satisfied me, my right-hand neighbour (one of the Chinese Commissioners recently sent to Australia to inquire into the condition of their countrymen there) remarked that he was very fond of whisky, and thereupon finished the bottle, filling and drinking off without water two tumblers one after the other. Yet he did not appear in the least the worse, and talked quite as intelligently as before, telling me of some interesting experiences.

"A curious and objectionable feature of the entertainment was the presence at a different table of some painted girls. These now and then came up to one or other of the guests, who was expected to drink her health and to turn up his glass to show it was emptied, the girl doing the same, and —horrible to relate—spitting afterwards. I managed to escape being called upon to undergo this ordeal, or my objection to do so might have marred what was considered a highly successful entertainment.

"Though from the above causes not altogether happy at this Chinese dinner, I had some amusement in watching the other European guests. Mr. Lockhart[1] (the official protector of Chinese), who sat opposite to me, attacked all the dishes like a man, and would alone have redeemed the credit of our party with the Chinese for gastronomic taste. Possibly having been for some years in China, he had become accustomed to what European new-comers are apt to regard as repulsive. Otherwise his control of the facial muscles was almost superhuman. Anderson and Bethell, though I could hear them decorously protesting how each dish was even more delicious than the last, did not appear to be able to manage more than a few mouthfuls, and I could see they had hard work to prevent making wry faces. Their struggles to assume an expression of ecstatic delight were edifying. These were evidently not observed by our hosts, and their praiseworthy efforts to please were so successful that one of my neighbours remarked to me, it was a

[1] Now Commissioner of Wei-hai-wei.

pity I was so unwell, or I should doubtless have enjoyed my dinner as much as my staff were doing!!

"At the end of the repast the chairman proposed my health in a really good English speech, from which it appeared that I was the first Governor who had either received Chinese at his dinner-table or dined with them, and that my condescension had touched them greatly. In my reply I repudiated any condescension, and, talking about the most ancient existing civilisation of the world, brought down vehement plaudits.

"Afterwards there was a theatrical performance in an adjoining room, with the gorgeous tawdry dresses, absurd gesticulations, falsetto screaming, and unutterable dullness which are characteristic of Chinese plays. After sitting through more than an hour of it, I was glad to get into the air and into my coolie chair, more thankful than I can say that the duty was accomplished."

As a gratifying indication that I had so far given satisfaction to the colonists, I may mention that at a meeting of the Finance Committee of the Legislative Council, whose function is to consider and recommend to that body all items of expenditure, I had authorised Mr. Price to represent the condition of the furniture at Government House and to propose a vote of five thousand dollars as the smallest sum necessary for decent replenishment and repair. The committee at once expressed a unanimous opinion that the amount was insufficient, and voted ten thousand dollars, or double the sum suggested. As will be seen, this was by no means the last instance of liberality shown to me during my administration.

December 24th.—In the afternoon took Lord E. Cecil and his son (who are staying in the house), and also General Cameron and Colonel Storer, R.E., in the launch to visit some of the fortifications. The forts are very elaborate works, but to a civilian's eye seem lacking in means of offence. Indeed, one of them could only fire one shot at a passing vessel, and if that failed, would be

useless. In the cool weather of this time of year steam-launching in the harbour is very enjoyable.

January 5th.—Went out in the afternoon in the launch, having tea, as usual, on board. A German officer and two American ladies were asked also. We had much to look at, for besides the usual "crowd" of shipping, including thirteen English and several foreign men-of-war, we were lucky enough to see the Chinese Admiral arrive with two vessels, said to be the strongest in these seas, and to witness from close at hand the cannonading which takes place on such occasions. The men-of-war all turned out their guards and presented arms as the *Victoria* passed.

We went some five miles to the east end of the harbour and met a Portuguese corvette steaming in at best pace. She will add her quota to the tremendous cannonading which is sure to take place to-morrow, when the various naval magnates visit one another.

Friday, January 6th.—German squadron of three vessels arrived, and then began a series of salutes between ships of different nationalities, which went on at intervals nearly all day, the total number of guns fired from English, German, Chinese, and Portuguese ships, and from one of our shore batteries being three hundred and sixty-three. It was really an imposing sight.

In the afternoon Admirals Ting and Lang of the Chinese Navy called, the former being the Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese fleet, and the latter an English naval captain, who acts as a kind of dry-nurse to the other. Ting is a big, coarse Chinaman, with a manner more hearty, but less dignified, than that of the ordinary mandarin. This is probably to be accounted for by the fact that he is a soldier—a profession which the civilian potentates regard as distinctly inferior. He has risen to his present position of dignity, not because of any proficiency in naval matters (of which, I am told, he knows very little except what has been taught him by Captain Lang), but simply because of his exceptional bravery and his services on shore. He had

on not only the pink cap-button which betokens the highest rank, but the yellow jacket, which is given only for specially distinguished service, and is possessed, I believe, by only about a dozen others. Despite his defects of manner, there was a bluff, manly straightforwardness about him which made me inclined to like him. It was in singular contrast with what I have seen in other mandarins—a certain silky, hyper-diplomatic manner which reminds me forcibly of another race.

January 7th.—Went off early in the launch to return the visit of the Chinese admirals. The ship on which both have their quarters is evidently a powerful one, and ugly in proportion. The cabin accommodation was poor and stuffy. As I stepped on deck a Chinese band played a fair imitation of "God Save the Queen." By accident the Admiral, the General, and I were calling all at the same time, so that on our leaving three salutes were fired one after the other, adding not a little to the large total of the previous day. As on such an occasion it is necessary to have my flag flying, there was the same turning out of guards and "tootling" on the various ships as on the previous day.

Monday, January 10th.—Returned to-day a visit paid me by the German Commodore, being received on arrival and departure with the usual marks of courtesy. The ship seemed to be in splendid order, more nearly approaching that of our ships than any other I have seen. I am always inclined to like German naval officers, and in this case there was no exception.

January 14th.—Among various dinners which I have had lately, one was to the Chinese Admiral, to which came Vesey Hamilton (the Naval Commander-in-Chief), and Cameron, with their respective staffs. Though I cannot help liking Ting, his ways are certainly not attractive. He continually seized me by the arm in a most affectionate way, and I was much afraid that he was going to kiss me!

January 22nd.—A Russian ship came in last night, and this morning over one hundred and fifty guns have in consequence been fired in salutes from English, German, Russian, and Chinese ships and the shore battery. It is rather exciting to watch this performance, first the jets of smoke and then the reports following at greater or lesser intervals according to distance. One gets to be a connoisseur of this kind of nonsense, and to detect differences in the smartness of execution.

Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday the annual races took place, and they proved to be much more interesting than I expected. For, fond as I have always been of seeing "thoroughbred" running, I did not anticipate much pleasure from an imitation of it with ponies. However, I was agreeably surprised by the pace and gameness of the animals and by the sport which they afforded. Some of the richer merchants have stables of ponies kept specially for racing, and costing high prices. These compete for the principal stakes. But there are a number of other races for what are called "griffins," the origin of which name I have been unable to discover. The purchase and ownership of these animals is thus brought about. A number of men subscribe each a certain sum—I believe one hundred and fifty dollars—and an agent is sent to North China to buy ponies with the aggregate amount thus collected. When the ponies arrive they are distributed among the subscribers by lot. The training of the raw animals affords considerable excitement in the weeks previous to the races. Bethell was fortunate in getting a good one, and has been training it assiduously every morning before breakfast, but has not been fortunate in winning a race.

The course is in the Happy Valley, and has even more beautiful surroundings than the similar one which you will remember in Trinidad. Along one side of it is a long row of mat-sheds, which are quickly erected before, and are removed immediately after, each race-meeting. They are constructed of bamboo, with thatched walls and roofs, and,

as in the case of Fijian houses, without the use of a single nail. Each of them has two stories, the upper one for seeing the races (having a dressing-room, with lavatory), the lower one for entertaining. The Governor and a number of the leading colonists have private ones, while there is a larger one for subscribers, which serves the purpose of a grand stand. According to a long-established custom, the Governor goes to luncheon the first day with the firm of Jardine, Matheson, and Co., the second with Russell and Co., the leading American firm; and so, though I should have preferred to do the entertaining myself, I did not feel justified in contravening what is regarded as a prescriptive privilege. The regiment (the Northamptonshire) had long previously taken the third day for the luncheon, so that my part in entertainment was confined to tea each evening.

After the third race, "society" collects in the grand stand, and then a procession, led by the Governor and the hostess of the day, proceeds to the private mat-shed, where luncheon is laid out. On each occasion good food and abundant champagne produced much hilarity, but nothing in the least disagreeable. The ponies, which, I believe, are bred in Manchuria and other parts of North China, showed wonderful speed and endurance. But they have mouths so hard that they scarcely seem to feel the bit, so that the manner they were kept hugging the rails on a round course said much for the riding. Several of the races produced really exciting struggles, and all the arrangements for weighing, starting, and judging were excellent, while the jockeys were almost as correctly and neatly got up in colours, boots, and breeches as those of Newmarket or Melbourne. Some races on each day were won by ponies belonging to Mr. John Bell Irving, of the firm of Jardines, whom I like much. He looks more like an English squire than a merchant, and he led in his winners to the weighing-room with a pride and zest which reminded me vividly of what I have so often witnessed elsewhere.

[The good riding of the Chinese attached to the racing

stables has caused me often lately to wonder whether Hong Kong and Wei-hai-wei might not be utilised as recruiting grounds for the mounted infantry, which next to artillery seems to be the force most required in modern warfare. Though those offering for service would never probably have been on horseback, the same may be said of most of the recruits who join our cavalry regiments, and I am inclined to think that the Chinese would quickly learn to ride equally well. Hitherto Chinese soldiers have gained a reputation for cowardice, because they have usually run away when faced by European troops. But knowing the remarkable courage with which individual Chinese commonly face death, I have always been of opinion that this reputation was undeserved, and that if led by English officers they would make exceptionally good soldiers, as being able to withstand hardships, insanitary conditions, and insufficiency of food, which would cause most European troops to succumb. The experience of the British officers in command of the Chinese regiment at Wei-hai-wei has, I believe, tended to confirm this view, and I feel sure that what in the past has seemed to be cowardice, was in fact due to the example of officers who, as belonging to a profession which in China is regarded with contempt, had no feeling of honour, this being, I imagine, quite as important a factor as natural courage in the maintenance of a bold front to the enemy.

The Boer War has served to raise doubts whether the sources from which our troops have hitherto been drawn are now sufficiently productive of recruits to permit of the reliance upon them alone for the defence of our enormously extended empire; and if I am right in this, the above suggestion would seem worthy of consideration.] My diary continues:—

On an "off day," when the racing was comparatively uninteresting, I did not go to the course, but in the afternoon went up to the road which is made along the Tytam Aqueduct, and looked down upon the sport from a height

of some five hundred feet above it. The racecourse was at the foot of the hill beneath us, and on its lower slopes, and considerably nearer, was the cemetery, with graves and glimpses of winding paths appearing here and there among the trees. Then occurred a spectacle which could hardly be witnessed anywhere else in the world. A military funeral was going on at the same time as the races, the people taking part in each, though near, being yet invisible to one another, and yet both visible to us. The sounds, moreover, from both places were quite clear, so that the dead march and the saddling bell were heard at the same time, while as the long line of redcoats, preceding and following the coffin, wound slowly up the slope to the grave, the sound of many galloping hoofs would have told us, even without the sight of it, that a race was going on, and the three volleys were fired over the grave as the bell rang for the next race!

Last night I went to see another performance of the *Sorcerer*, which was given at my request, the German Commodore coming with me to my box. He was evidently as much impressed as I was by the excellence of the amateur acting and singing, as well as by the whole "get-up" of the theatre. He was also struck by the band playing "God Save the Queen," and all the people standing up as I came in, and asked whether that was usual in the colonies. I replied that it was.

February 27th.—Russell, the acting Chief Justice, who has dined here frequently of late, came last night alone. I like him more the more I see of him. Except Fielding Clarke, he is the ablest judge who has served under me. A North Irishman, like ——, he is very unlike him in having a character which commands respect, and in his judgments can be discovered no trace of a desire to curry favour either with the Government or the colonists. He has had a long experience of China, and understands well both people and their Government, with which he has concluded successful negotiations. Apart from the usefulness

of his information on local matters, I take him to be an exceptionally wise and prudent man, in whom I shall be able to place much reliance as an adviser. So I am strongly recommending him for the place in which he is now only acting, and which his excellent service has well deserved as a permanence.

I may add that my recommendation was accepted.

Among the social amusements of Hong Kong in my time was that afforded by amateur theatricals, which usually took the form of comic opera. Both acting and singing were very good, and on more than one occasion elicited enthusiastic admiration from my English and foreign guests, whose experience of similar representations elsewhere gave weight to their favourable opinions. I specially remember the production of Gilbert and Sullivan's opera of *Iolanthe*, which, both as regards performance and *mise-en-scène*, was worthy of the Savoy. A young lady of Portuguese descent had a marvellous contralto voice, which revived faded memories of Alboni. The chief comedian was a capable imitator of Grossmith, and "Oh, Captain Shaw," exceedingly well sung, rendered the air almost as popular in the Far East as it was at one time in London.

Before referring to the more serious work which occupied me during the first months of my administration, I will make short mention of a flying visit which at the end of February I made to Singapore. I took advantage of a short leave granted to me by the Secretary of State for the purpose of meeting my family from England at the port whence they would start on the last stage of their voyage. I took passage in the Messageries steamer, and nothing could exceed the courtesy and attention of the French officers. The passage of some seventeen hundred miles between the ports was an uneventful one, both sea and wind being on their best behaviour. I remember only one amusing incident. A French colonel, who had been stationed some time in Annam, had had his health so affected by climate, and possibly also by the potent means

he had taken to support it, that the unusually excellent cuisine was insufficiently stimulating to his languid appetite. In consequence he habitually poured over all the meat "plats" a copious dose of "Worcestershire," remarking on almost every occasion, "J'aime beaucoup la sauce Anglaise!"

The ship touched at Saigon, situate some miles up the river of that name. There I was hospitably received at breakfast by Mons. Constans, the Governor-General of Indo-China. Afterwards I had with him over a cigar a very interesting conversation, which, together with his specially strong features, led me to think that he would one day come further "to the fore." Whether this prognostication will be justified has yet to be seen.

The Governor-General's palace at Saigon struck me as disproportionate in grandeur to its surroundings. To the eye of a transient visitor these seemed to consist of a few respectable buildings amid a city of hovels. Though enormous sums have been spent upon Indo-China, principally from the Treasury of France, the result would seem to have been very disappointing, and the contrast presented by its principal city with Hong Kong is most striking. The vessels in the port were very few, and of these few only the Messageries steamer carried the tricolour of France. All the other flags visible were either German or English, the former being in greater number. The stagnation plainly visible and the failure of this great possession either to progress or to become self-supporting are not difficult to account for. Not only is the commercial policy of the Government rigidly protectionist, but the difficulties placed in the way of foreigners are such that even the notoriously great resources of the country do not tempt them to the investment of capital. It would be supposed that these conditions would at least attract Frenchmen. But they have not done so. For, according to the figures obtained by me at the time, it appeared that of the few Europeans in the country the great majority were

officials who, according to our ideas, were in very inordinate numbers.

Singapore has been often described. Suffice to say here that its appearance indicated a specially thriving condition. Owing to the large Malay element, the population seemed even more motley than that of Hong Kong. The vegetation reminded me much of Trinidad, but the beautiful background of mountains which surrounds Port of Spain on the land side was here wanting. Two days after my arrival my wife reached there also.

On the return voyage to Hong Kong we had to face a north-east trade wind of not inconsiderable strength; but the ship, under most careful and courteous officers, provided all that could be desired in the way of comfort, so that, notwithstanding the head seas, our four and a half days on board were spent by no means altogether disagreeably.

We started twenty-four hours after the P. and O. steamer and arrived only four hours after it. Prince and Princess Cariati (he being on the way to join the Italian Legation in China), who were passengers on her, told us that great efforts had been made by special stoking to get in before us, and that there had been much excitement in watching for our smoke on the horizon behind them. I was glad that they had succeeded, though there would have been no great triumph for the German line even if they had not. For the gain of one day in five by a new boat like the *Preussen*, when pitted against a very old one, which only on account of an accident was in use for passenger carriage, would scarcely have justified boasting. I was sorry to see, therefore, that my supposed preference for the Nord-Deutscher Lloyd line and its justification by the comparatively rapid passage, were made use of for advertisement by German newspapers.

CHAPTER III

Mountain Lodge and summer life there—Typhoons; boat population escaping to refuge harbour—Plague of white ants—The Peak: life in the clouds—Great storm of 1889—Behaviour of telephone—Lightning kills workmen close to us—Chinese view of death by lightning—Effects of storm—Distinguished visitors: T.R.H. the Count and the Countess de Bardi; H.I.H. the Grand Duke Alexander Michaelowitch of Russia; the Marquis de Mores; Monsieur de Mayrema, *soi-disant* Roi des Sedangs—Visit to Shanghai—Dine with Taotai—Extreme differences in Chinese dialects—A Chinese theatre—Ill-health causes short visit to Japan—A hurricane at Mianoshta baths—Four flagships at Hong Kong together—French Admiral's amusing remark—Death and funeral of Admiral Chandler, of American Navy—Council vote 100,000 dollars for addition to Government House and new Governor's residence on Peak.

ON my return to Hong Kong with my family the cool season was almost over, and there were consequently few arrivals of visiting strangers. Except the Queen's Birthday ball, our entertainments were confined to dinners and garden-parties; and in the middle of May we moved to Mountain Lodge, which was at that time the Governor's residence on the Peak, and at a height of some 1,700 feet above the harbour. The house was a small one, which admitted of entertainment only on a very limited scale. There were two good lawn-tennis courts, which enabled us to have weekly garden-parties. To these came most of the Peak residents, and, when the weather was sufficiently propitious, some also of those whom circumstances compelled to pass the summer in the stifling heat of the town. On both the north and south sides of the house were narrow stone verandahs. The view from the former of these was bounded by the summit of the Peak, some quarter of a mile distant, on which was the signal station, used for announcing

the approach of steamers and other vessels and the names of the firms to which they were consigned. From the other verandah, however, there was a magnificent prospect over the China Sea, comprehending a long line of mountainous coast and innumerable islands. Here in fine weather we spent most of our evenings watching the beautiful cloud effects at sunset, and sometimes, after dark, the exceptional brilliancy of the stars, at the same time greatly enjoying the restful silence. For from that spot neither sight nor sound gave any token of human existence, and it seemed difficult to realise that within so short a distance was a dense population.

The chief peculiarity of the house was a kind of cellar, lined with concrete, which was intended to be used as a retreat in case of hurricane, and was more than once in our two years' residence hastily prepared for such use, when signals from the flagstaff on the Peak, repeated from the observatory on the Kowloon Peninsula, indicated the approach of a typhoon. Fortunately during my time we were spared the unwelcome visit of the centre of one of these storms, such as had in past years caused the death of many thousands in the harbour of Hong Kong and in the Canton River. On several occasions, however, we were touched by the outer edge of the dreaded circle, and even in this case the strength of the wind was such as is, I imagine, never experienced in non-tropical climates, except in the case of the whirlwinds, rarely exceeding a few hundred yards in diameter, which frequently in North America and occasionally in Europe make a comparatively narrow path of destruction.

When these terrors were in the neighbourhood we were warned hours previously, both by signals from the Peak flagstaff, and by telephone. The first message on the latter would usually be, "Typhoon on north coast of Luzon" (Philippines). Then would come, "Typhoon moving towards Formosa," or "Typhoon south of Formosa." From that position the hurricane usually made a curve, and the next

message would be, "Typhoon approaching Hong Kong," by which time the increasing strength of the wind-gusts would be in itself a sufficient warning. Once or twice when this occurred in the daytime, while the cellar was being prepared for habitation, I went out to look down on the town and harbour from the north edge of the Peak, and though the wind rendered it difficult to keep upright, the sight presented was sufficiently remarkable to be worth the risk. Though, owing to the height, one could not see the waves, the prevalent white on the usually blue surface of the harbour showed that the gale had already worked it into foam, while steam-tugs dragging long lines of junks and sampans to the harbours of refuge (which, since the last destructive typhoon, had been provided by the Government), showed that the water-population had already become alive to the coming danger and were seeking the only escape from imminent death. I may mention that from the spot where all this was witnessed could be seen immediately beneath one's feet the whole length of the town of Victoria, the sharp lines of the streets, with the densely packed houses on either side, giving the idea of roads cut deep into solid rock, and reminding me much of a similar sight which may be seen from a hill of much less height above Naples.

During our first summer on the Peak, the house had been invaded by white ants (termites), whose ravages caused its abandonment as a residence immediately after I left the colony. Ordinarily these did not trouble us much, keeping concealed in their depredations by their subterranean or artificially covered galleries. But for two or three nights each year they became a serious nuisance. This was when the parent community was deserted by those of its members (both male and female) which seem to be provided with wings for this special purpose; for it is observable that after the first short flight of the creatures the wings become immediately detached from their bodies, and do not serve them further. At such times, usually on a specially damp evening, these insects came

into the house literally in thousands. The surface of water, placed about the rooms in baths and other large vessels, quickly became completely covered, so that no space was visible between the bodies, and, owing to the numbers settling on everything, to eat and drink became almost impossible. Once when the invasion was upon us we were obliged to retire into a room in which all apertures had been previously closed, even the confined air, rendered more stifling by exceptional damp, being preferable to a covering of these insects, which, unlike the true ants, are really loathsome. Fortunately the flight of the creatures ceased after dark, when all those which had not been destroyed disappeared as suddenly as they came, leaving their wings to be swept away in heaps.

What was, however, far more trying to patience on the Peak was the time when clouds rested upon it. In our first year this happened but rarely, and never lasted more than a day or two. But in our second season it was very different, and this miserable experience lasted for the greater part of the summer. On one occasion, for several weeks together, the fog was as dense as the worst which afflicts London in November, and only differed from it as being white instead of brown or black. The damp inside the house was such that water ran down the walls in streams and collected in pools on the polished floors. Such indeed was the moisture of the air that bed linen had to be kept in a hot drying-room, and would become too wet to sleep in if taken out more than a few minutes before it was required to be used. At such times one seemed cut off entirely from the rest of the world, the existence of which was revealed only at rare intervals by the arrival of a Government messenger with papers, or by the clicking of the telephone.

When this was the state of the atmosphere with us, the heat in the town below was usually at its greatest, and yet in going down to my office, as I used to do once or twice a week, I found it a welcome change. Occasionally, after

many days in succession of a life which resembled that of a damp and gloomy prison, we would go for a change down to sleep for a night or two at our house in town. It was a pleasure to see daylight and bright sky again, but the heat, which rendered sleep almost impossible, quickly drove us up again.

I now come to the great storm of May, 1889, which, apart from our experience of it, deserves notice as perhaps constituting a "record" in respect of the quantity of rain falling within a short space of time. Though thirty-six inches of rain (or much more than the average rainfall of a whole year in England) fell in thirty-two hours, even this gives no idea of what was occasionally the extent of this downpour. The register at the Kowloon Observatory (at the site of which, as being nearly level with the sea, the fall was probably less than on the Peak) showed from 7 a.m. to 10.23 a.m. 5·2 inches, from 10.10 a.m. to 12.20 p.m. 6·4 inches, or in the aggregate 11·6 inches in five hours and twenty minutes, the last two hours having an average of about three inches each. To us on the Peak, however, water was by no means the most formidable element of the storm. For two whole nights and the greater part of the intervening day—thunder and lightning was almost incessant. Sometimes for an hour or more flashes succeeded one another so rapidly that even in the middle of the night it would have been quite possible to read by them almost without a break, had anyone possessed sufficient nerve to abstract his attention from the terrific claps of thunder, many of which were evidently close over our heads. Occasionally, though the number of flashes scarcely diminished, the comparatively distant explosions deluded us into the belief that the storm was leaving us. But again and again it gradually returned, apparently going round and round the great circle of hills which enclose the Hong Kong Harbour, and again and again from close at hand showed us its appalling strength. That, however, which was to our Chinese servants the most terrifying effect of

the storm was the behaviour of the telephone. At the first signs of what was coming I had, as I thought, "disconnected" it. But I suppose that something must have been wrong with the apparatus, for every now and then it would startle us with a sharp report like that of a pistol fired close at hand, while once or twice when I happened to be near it a great ball of fire would accompany the explosion. This last phenomenon having been witnessed by one or more of our Chinese servants, brought their terror to a climax, and they all ran away, concealing themselves we never knew where, and only returned when the storm was well over.

That our neighbourhood was in fact specially dangerous is shown by the fact that almost the only loss of life caused by this storm occurred within a distance of less than three hundred yards from Mountain Lodge. Some thirty workmen, employed in the building of a house, had taken refuge in a mat-shed, and this being struck by lightning, eight of them, including the sub-contractor, were killed. Another of these men had a narrow escape. He was stunned by the shock, but recovering shortly afterwards, seemed to experience no other unpleasant effect from it than the burning of two blisters, each about the size of a crown, upon one of his arms. The mat-shed seemed to have suffered no damage, with the exception of a small hole in the corner, by which the lightning had apparently entered.

The electric current fluid seemed in this case to have been unusually capricious in its effects, and the superstitious Chinese were not without plausible ground for the belief that it had made deliberate choice of its victims. For as far as I could make out from the excited narrative of the survivors, the whole of the men had been close together when the lightning entered, and yet several of those killed had nearest to them, on either side, others who felt no shock at all. The Chinese feeling on this subject was expressed by one of our servants, who was delighted that "eight bad men" had been killed. In their view, lightning is, at least principally, used for the destruction of those who are wanting in filial piety.

Considering the situation of the town, the damage caused by this storm was far less than might have been expected, and than it certainly would have been but for the exceptional solidity of the materials used in the construction of both public and private works. The greatest inconvenience caused to the public was the temporary loss of the funicular railway to the Peak, which, though opened only a year before, had already carried some 150,000 passengers. A great landslip burst through some hundred yards of the "permanent way," breaking the steel cable and carrying away rails, sleepers, etc., far away down to the reservoir below.

The drains burst in two or three places. In one instance great granite blocks with the concrete above them were thrown up with tremendous force, as though by an earthquake, thus admitting the escape of water, which rose in a column to a height of some twelve feet. Considering the enormous mass of water which must have passed through these conduits in a very short space of time, it was really marvellous that such accidents were not much more numerous. For estimating as at least a square mile the area of the watershed above the town of Victoria, it is evident that, with a rainfall of thirty-six inches, over 3,000,000 cubic yards of water must have found their way from it to the sea within a period considerably less than two days. As by far the greater part of this volume must have gone through the drains, I am of opinion that the comparatively slight injury done to them affords striking testimony to the excellence of Mr. Price's work, and does credit to the foresight which sanctioned the large expenditure for specially solid construction, which had sometimes been the subject of adverse comment.

As it was, the repairs of public works necessitated by this storm cost little more than 100,000 dollars. Had there been any general bursting of the drains, it would probably have required millions to cover the resulting damage.

No very great injury was done by this storm to private

property other than the railway; and though the enormous masses of earth and great granite boulders which had been brought down from the heights had in several places broken through the cut-stone conduit of the Tytam water-works and finally lodged in great heaps of *débris* on the lower roads, the energetic measures taken to utilise an abundant supply of cheap labour caused the necessary repairs to be quickly effected, and in the course of three months all traces of the storm had well-nigh disappeared. Some of the damage, such as that of the uprooted trees, could, however, be repaired only by time, and as I remarked in an official report, "It will take years before Glenealy Ravine, hitherto remarkable for its abundant and luxuriant foliage, and other similar spots can completely recover their former beauty."

When this storm occurred Mr. Price, the eminently able engineer to whom I have referred, had retired from the Service and left the colony; and his successor, who for a long time past had had little experience except of reclamation work, quickly convinced me that besides being new to the colony, he was without the qualities necessary for dealing with such an emergency. Moreover, the staff of the Works Department, previously undermanned, was otherwise, owing to the sickness and absence of some of its members, in a very inefficient condition. Under these circumstances, after some correspondence, I obtained the permission of the Colonial and War Offices to secure the temporary services of Captain Champernowne, of the Royal Engineers, who had been under orders to leave the colony immediately. Resisting the temptation to go home after several years of service in the Far East, this officer loyally undertook the personal charge of the reparation work, and it was chiefly due to him that this was so quickly and successfully achieved.

At the end of September in each year we returned from the Peak to our house in town, and there our social life was much like that already described. There was, however,

this difference, that I had now for entertainment the assistance of my wife, the value of which may be gathered from a remark made to me by a colonist. He said, "Lady Des Vœux has the rare gift of appearing glad to receive, and thus making happy, at least for the moment, every guest who enters her house." And this tribute I had on many occasions the best opportunity of knowing to be well deserved.

In the course of 1889 and the first months of 1890, before my ill-health compelled me to take leave of absence, we entertained, besides the colonists of Hong Kong, many distinguished foreigners, including their Royal Highnesses Prince and Princess Henri de Bourbon (Comte and Comtesse de Bardi), the Grand Duke Alexander Michaelowitch of Russia, the Archduke Leopold of Austria, and admirals, commodores, and captains of the navies of the United States of America, Russia, Germany, France, Austria, China, and Japan, besides a distinguished colonial statesman, Sir Thomas McIlwraith, at the time Premier of Queensland, and various peers and members of the House of Commons.

The Bardis, who were on a two years' voyage round the world, were accompanied by Baroness Hertling, as *dame d'honneur* to the Princess, and by three gentlemen, Count Lucchesi (now Prince of Campo Franco), Count Alexander Ziléri, and Baron Heydebrand.

The Prince and his elder brother, the Duke of Parma, are the only living descendants of Charles X. of France, and thus are the sole representatives of the senior branch of the family of Louis XIV. He had passed the greater part of his young days with his uncle, the Comte de Chambord, who but for conscientious scruples would have been made King of France by Marshal McMahon; so that his conversation would have been interesting on that account alone, apart from his large experience of travel. Having been born in a position which precluded his taking part in public affairs, he had spent much of his time in seeing the world and in sport, in which, including tiger-hunting, his

H.R.H. the Countess de Bardi The Author and daughter

HONG KONG CHAIR-CARRIAGES

(PICTURE PRESENTED BY H.R.H. THE COUNT DE BARDI)

wife, though in all respects thoroughly feminine, had almost always been his companion. They had together made adventurous voyages in a sailing yacht to Spitzbergen and across the Atlantic to the West Indies, and were at this time in the second year of a journey round the world, which was concluded by an excursion to the Great Wall of China, a six months' tour of Japan, and the transit across America.

The Princess had taken a keen interest in the politics and institutions of the countries she had visited, and while with us showed much anxiety to understand the mode of English Crown Government, reading carefully such official papers as were shown to her, and making shrewd and amusing comments upon my minutes.

The members of their Royal Highnesses' suite being also agreeable, we experienced so much pleasure from their society that, finding that they were fatigued by their sporting excursions in the hot climates of Java and Cochin China, we induced them to prolong a visit originally intended to be for only three days. And so, with the exception of a short interval occupied by a trip to Canton, they stayed with us some four weeks, which are now chiefly memorable to us as the beginning of a friendship which has been continually strengthened in the years which have since elapsed.[1]

[1] H.R.H. the Comtesse de Bardi belongs to a family in the fate of which England has been much concerned. She is the daughter of Dom Miguel, once King of Portugal, whom, in the days when we interfered in the affairs of most other peoples besides our own, we assisted in dethroning and expelling from his country. Unlike most ex-kings, he carried away with him into exile very little property. Dying when his children were very young, these were brought up in exceedingly modest surroundings. But such were their attractions, enhanced by the careful education of their mother (*née* Princess Adelaide of Lowenstein-Wertheim, and now a nun in the Benedictine Convent near Cowes), that all the six daughters became the wives of royal personages, three of them belonging to still reigning families. And their attractions have evidently descended to another generation. For since the visit which we had the honour to pay three years ago at Posenhofen to another of them, the Duchess Karl Theodore of Bavaria (wife of the celebrated oculist), her two daughters, then living with their parents, have become the wives respectively of the heirs of the thrones of Bavaria and Belgium. And of the Duchess herself, it may be said with truth that her unselfish life, as the assistant of her husband in his many gratuitous ophthalmic operations, is in character with a face which approaches very nearly to that of an ideal Madonna.

H.I.H. the Grand Duke Alexander Michaelowitch of Russia (since married to the sister of the present Tsar), who visited us about this time, was also an enthusiastic sailor; and I heard various stories of the pains he took to make himself a competent officer. An accident gave me strong ground for believing that his reputation in this respect was not undeserved. As we were smoking after luncheon in the verandah facing the harbour, a vessel steamed through the Lyeemoon passage. After looking at her for a moment through my telescope, he said, "That's the *Porpoise!*" When I expressed astonishment that he should recognise a vessel which was only then arriving from England, he replied that the *Porpoise* was the only one of her class ordered to the Chinese station, so that he could not be mistaken. I then asked if he could recognise by sight all the classes of ships in the British Navy, to which he answered "Yes," as regards all ships of importance, and not only of the British, but of every other navy. As the result of further conversation I learnt that he knew not only the principal details of the construction and armament of the different classes, but the present condition of individual ships. On his asking me to examine him about any ships I knew, I put several test questions, all of which he answered accurately, his information extending to quite recent changes. As an instance, on my mentioning the *Emerald*, he replied, "One of the 'Gem' class"; and after describing her original condition, he added that she had lately been entirely overhauled and brought up to date, being then an efficient cruiser. When I named the *Diamond*, he said in effect that, though also one of the "Gems," she was now in a very different condition from the other (to the best of my recollection his words were, "That's a very different pair of shoes," his wonderful mastery of English extending to the vernacular), and he expressed a doubt whether she could go six knots. His descriptions were, I know, in the main correct, as the *Emerald* was the ship commanded by our friend Captain Hamond in

Newfoundland waters, while the *Diamond* had carried me from Fiji to Samoa, when her average speed under steam, though we were pressed for time, scarcely exceeded five knots.

When I was visiting his ship the next day, the Grand Duke kindly satisfied my curiosity as to the means by which he recognised ships he had never seen, and had managed to commit to memory such an astonishing number and variety of facts. He caused to be brought several large volumes which contained photographs of one of each important class of ships in every navy, and underneath all of them were written the particulars of the original construction and armament, together with the changes which had been made from time to time in every individual ship of the class represented. Wonderful to say, he had learnt the whole of these particulars by heart, while by careful study of the photographs he had impressed upon his brain so complete a picture of each class that he could at once recognise, on seeing a ship, what class it belonged to; and no doubt information received from time to time as to the whereabouts of all of that class would enable him to know what particular ship was before him. "You see," he said, "by this means almost as soon as a vessel is sighted I can tell what we have to deal with, and should know in war-time whether we can fight her or not." This power of accurate recognition must have been acquired by much labour, and if it be really as valuable as it would seem to be to a non-expert, I presume that the subject has already engaged the attention of our naval authorities.

The Grand Duke had the handsome face and fine presence which distinguish many of his family. With a dignity becoming his position, he combined a cheery *bonhomie* in manner and conversation and a not inconsiderable power of telling amusing stories which rendered his society specially agreeable.

Loyalty is apt to exaggerate the proficiency of royal personages in all they attempt; but from what I saw of

the Grand Duke I can well believe it to be really true what was said of him, viz. that he was in a fair way to become a complete master of his profession.

During 1888 there called at Government House on different occasions two other visitors to Hong Kong, each of whom had had a strange career. One was the Marquis de Mores, who had with him a surveying party for a projected railroad in Tonkin. He brought me a letter of introduction from his father, the Duke of Vallombrosa, whom I have mentioned in connection with my visits to Cannes in 1866 and 1872. I at the time knew nothing of his extraordinary past, which is now so notorious that it is unnecessary to refer to it. At the time of his arrival my house was full, and so I was unable to ask him to stay with us, as I should certainly have done otherwise in memory of hospitality received from his family. But he dined with us several times, and we found him to be decidedly clever, and, I am bound to say, as agreeable and amusing as he was good-looking. His experiences, however, had been of such a wild nature that I was not altogether sorry for the accident which caused him to be guest at an hotel instead of Government House. And this feeling was accentuated when I heard that he was about to fight a duel (whether it ever came off I do not know) with Mons. de Mayrema, the other visitor referred to above.

The career of Mons. de Mores subsequent to this time is even better known than his former doings; its premature termination in Africa was in character with it, and I can hardly be wrong in saying that it must have come to those belonging to him almost as a relief. His case was a peculiarly sad instance of what is unhappily a matter of common observation, viz. that mental, physical, and social advantages may be entirely neutralised by some defect in the brain, which may be, it is said, only an infinitesimal atom of matter in the wrong place.

The career of Mons. de Mayrema was, if possible, even more extraordinary. The first I heard of him was that he

had written his name in the visitors' book at Government House as "Marie, Roi des Sedangs." On inquiry I learnt that his history was as follows. Having been a French official in Cochin China, he had wandered into the then little-known territory which intervenes between Cambodia and Siam. It appears that the tribes which inhabited this country had a tradition that they should be governed by a white man with some defect in his arm—I forget exactly what—and Mayrema being fortunate enough to have this defect, was elected their king. He thereupon adopted the title of Roi des Sedangs, and having received insufficient encouragement from the French authorities in Saigon, he had come to Hong Kong to obtain money and other supplies for the due support of his newly acquired dignity. Hearing he was an educated man, who had brought with him respectable references, I was somewhat curious to see him, and I therefore caused him to be informed that while I was unable to acknowledge as King one who had not been recognised as such by Her Majesty, I should be happy to receive him, if he called as a private person. He adopted my suggestion, and as I found him interesting, I asked him to dinner by the name of Mons. de Mayrema. He came in a magnificent uniform, of unknown design; but as no impertinent inquiries on the subject were addressed to him, I never learnt to what corps or position it belonged. His manners and conversation were open to no exception, and that he found his entertainment agreeable may be gathered from the fact that a day or two afterwards I received from him a letter containing an award to me, with a magnificently engraved diploma, of the Grand Cordon de l'Ordre de Sedang. Of course this was at once returned with my appreciative thanks, coupled with an intimation that English officers were not permitted to accept foreign orders except with the special sanction of Her Majesty. I saw nothing more of this gentleman afterwards. He, however, as I understood, found some confiding person in Hong Kong to lend him money, and he went to France,

where I was astonished to hear that he met with some success both pecuniary and social, though it must surely have been known that, having failed to obtain recognition of his kingship from the French Government, he had applied for support to Germany.

According to a newspaper report, this adventurer met his death a year or two afterwards from the bite of a snake after his return to the Far East. But while still in Europe, as I was much amused to observe, he had made use of his kingly power by publishing a royal decree divorcing his wife and immediately marrying another!

In the autumn of the same year all my family, including myself, requiring change, I took advantage of a fortnight's leave by making a visit to Shanghai, to reach which from Hong Kong takes some three and a half days' steaming. Leaving my family at an hotel there, I went, accompanied by Bethell, for a short shooting trip up the Yangtse in a houseboat. We saw a considerable number of pheasants, but the pleasure of the sport was destroyed by the frequent discovery of natives in the trees immediately in front and within range of the guns. Great numbers of people were engaged in fruit-picking, and the danger was great of hitting one or more of them. Though, from remarks made to me, it would appear that to some the killing of a Chinaman by accident need not be a subject of much regret, I doubt whether even these would care to run the risk of such an accident in such a place; for we were so far from European assistance that had we hit a man, we should in all probability have been arrested and subjected to an enormous "squeeze." But apart from this drawback, I found that I was too weak to shoot straight or to make walking other than a labour; so that we returned, sooner than we had intended to do, with by no means a heavy bag, to which Bethell had chiefly contributed.

On reaching Shanghai again, I was entertained at dinner by the Taotai, the principal Chinese municipal officer, who was kind enough to send chairs for the carriage of my

party. As we went at a great pace through the narrow, crowded streets our coolies thrust people out of the way with great roughness, that being evidently their practice when carrying mandarins. Though making various energetic efforts to express my disgust, I failed completely, owing to ignorance of the language, to make my meaning understood. I may remark, however, that had I had a competent knowledge either of Cantonese or of the mandarin dialect (which it would, of course, have been impossible for me to acquire in so short a time), I should even then have been unintelligible here; for few things are more remarkable in China than the inability of the people of one place to understand the talk of those living much nearer to them than Shanghai is to Hong Kong. For instance, Cantonese might almost as usefully talk Greek as their own language to the people of Amoy, while a similar difficulty would be found by the latter in talking to the Shanghai people; in fact, though the written language is, I believe, much the same in every province of China, the spoken language of each, owing to the manner of pronunciation and difference of idiom, is practically a foreign tongue in all the others.

The cause of this apparent anomaly is, I think, not difficult to imagine. The educated class throughout the Middle Kingdom having always been in communication with the seat of government and with one another, the same written language would naturally remain common to all. On the other hand, in a dense population, which appears to have remained much the same for over two thousand years, only a small fraction of people, living within a given area, would at any time have communication with any but their immediate neighbours, and thus language would tend to differentiate more than in other countries where travellers would bear a larger proportion to the comparatively small number of inhabitants. We can see the working of similar causes in England, though its until recently sparse population and the much shorter

period of our history have precluded them from having effect in the same degree. The agricultural labourers of Yorkshire and Cornwall have dialects so distinct that they would, I imagine, understand one another with difficulty. But for the rapid and easy means of communication which has been recently established, it is probable that when they had lived in the same localities as long as have the peoples of China, this difficulty would have become an impossibility. The distinct difference of dialect between the English of the European natives of Australia and New Zealand and between both and any dialect of the mother country is a curious instance of the quickness with which spoken language tends to differentiate even within a very short space of time. Before leaving this subject I may mention the curious fact that coast Chinamen of different provinces are beginning to communicate with one another in "Pidgin-English."

We occupied our few days in Shanghai by visiting various objects of interest, which have been sufficiently described elsewhere; but I may mention as a caution to others, that the statues of awesome monsters at the entrance of a Buddhist temple so frightened our little girl as to render her nervous for a long time afterwards.

One evening we accompanied the Bardis, who arrived during our stay, to a Chinese theatre; but the incredibly childish performance by falsetto-voiced men, dressed as women, was rendered still more intolerable by the almost continuous beating of enormous drums, with the mingled noise of indescribable harshness proceeding from other so-called musical instruments. So we found about twenty minutes at this entertainment about as much as we could bear.

We returned to Hong Kong with health much improved by the change, and for several months I was comparatively well. But in the following August, while we were resident on the Peak, I, with my usual susceptibility to illness, was attacked by a plague of small boils, which was affecting

many other Europeans at the same time. Fortunately, they appeared only on the scalp, but that was covered with more than two hundred of them, the soreness rendering sleep impossible. After a week of insomnia, when I was at length compelled to cease from all head work, the doctors recommended a sea-voyage as the only means of speedy cure; and so I went for a short trip to Japan, accompanied only by Mr. F. May,[1] my private secretary, whose familiarity with the Far East rendered him a specially agreeable companion.

During the week spent in the Mikado's dominions we passed several days at the baths of Mianoshta, where we were visited by the edge of a typhoon which caused much damage in Yokohama. Even our less severe experience was by no means a pleasant one, living as we were in a dependence of the hotel consisting of a little wooden house built on piles. The gusts of wind were truly fearful, and more than once there occurred what seemed to be a severe shock of earthquake. But as no such shocks had been felt elsewhere, we were almost forced to believe that our little house had been bodily lifted up by the force of the wind beneath it, and that the concussions felt by us were caused by its falling back again on the piles. To guard against similar accidents, most wooden houses in Fiji are tied down by wire ropes fastened to great stones sunk deep in the ground. So that this effect of the wind would seem to have been really experienced elsewhere.

My disagreeable complaint became less painful after the first day at sea, and long before the end of my three weeks' absence from Hong Kong was completely gone.

In the winter of 1888–9 there were present simultaneously in Hong Kong Harbour flagships of the English, American, Russian, and French squadrons. Three of the admirals had been joined in the Far East by a portion of their families—a fact which was brought home to me by an amusing remark made by the French Commander-in-Chief.

[1] Now C.M.G. and Colonial Secretary of Hong Kong.

When I was dining with him on board his ship he spoke to this effect in French: "I find myself here in a very singular position. The English Admiral has with him his wife and daughter, the American Admiral has also his wife and daughter, and the Russian Admiral is equally fortunate. I should really like to have a wife and daughter, too. Can you tell me how one proposes for an English girl?"

This coincident presence of four naval commanders-in-chief had a sad termination. Admiral Chandler, the American Admiral, was taken suddenly ill while on a visit to me, and died of apoplexy a few hours afterwards. Needless to say, all possible was done to show honour to his remains and sympathy with his family. All the civilian officers, including myself, the English Admiral and General, with large contingents of sailors and soldiers, and a large number of the leading citizens, followed the funeral to the Happy Valley; and as I stood beside the grave it occurred to me that I had never seen a deeper impression, produced by the sudden access of death, than was visible upon the crowd of faces surrounding me.

One incident of our social life in Hong Kong was probably unique; and but for the presence of mind of my wife would have caused a very unpleasant scandal. A man of high rank (I forbear to mention his nationality) was travelling round the world with his wife, and having a letter of introduction to us, we asked them to stay at Government House. The lady was quite young and by no means without attractiveness as regards both face and conversation. On the third day of their visit we had a dinner-party of some thirty people, when I took her in to dinner, her husband being opposite with my wife at the centre of the long table. She was gay and bright, as seemed to be natural to her; but towards the end of dinner, while I was talking to my left-hand neighbour, I suddenly felt pressure on my right shoulder. Turning round quickly, I was astonished to see that my partner's head was quietly resting upon it in a half-sleepy condition. To say that I was embarrassed

hardly expresses my feeling. My wife said afterwards that my face of perplexity would have been a treasure for an artist in caricature. Quickly perceiving the state of things, my wife pushed back her chair and got up, thereby causing the ladies to leave the room. In doing this she affected absence of mind, as dinner was not quite finished, and ice was at the moment going round. Managing to get the poor lady on to her feet, I gave her my arm to the door, where my wife took charge of her, and at length with some difficulty induced her to be led upstairs to her room. The whole affair, though it has taken long to describe, occupied only a minute or two—indeed, was settled so quickly that, as far as we could ascertain, only three, or at the most four, people saw what had happened. Even one of my staff, sitting at the end of the table, failed to do so; and the husband seemed totally unconscious of anything extraordinary except my wife's premature departure. Needless to say, I did not enlighten him. The next day a telegram from my friend Alabaster, the Consul-General at Canton, apprised me that a guide for that city had been secured on behalf of our guests, and they at once left Hong Kong. We heard afterwards that the failing then shown by this poor woman had become habitual, and led subsequently to scandal, which was on this occasion happily obviated.

In concluding the account of my social and private life in Hong Kong during my first two years of residence there, I may mention, as evidence of the colonists' appreciation of our efforts for their entertainment, that some of the members of Council, having noticed that at our larger parties our rooms had become too small for the increased and increasing numbers of Hong Kong society, suggested to me the expediency of building an annexe to Government House, such as would afford greater space for balls, and would enable such entertainments to be given without disturbance to the Governor's domestic arrangements.

I hesitated somewhat about the adoption of this suggestion, because of a doubt whether the Governor's salary

was sufficient to render otherwise than inconvenient the amount of entertaining which the provision of such a building would cause to be expected. Seeing, however, that there was really a strong feeling on the subject, and that, though the existing rooms at Government House were never by any means so crowded as are those of an ordinary London ball, their space was regarded as insufficient for comfort in a hot climate, I consented to the proposal in Council of the necessary vote.

A sum of 50,000 dollars was thereupon voted unanimously for the proposed annexe (the plan of which was approved by me before my departure for England in March, 1890), and at the same time there was passed also another vote of 50,000 dollars for the erection of a new Governor's residence on the Peak instead of Mountain Lodge, the complete destruction of which by white ants had become imminent. Though the latter vote was likely to be useful in case of necessity, I resisted the temptation to avail myself of it at the moment, in the belief that Mountain Lodge might be used for at least another year; so that the new house projected was not built in my time.

CHAPTER IV

Routine work of Hong Kong Government comparatively easy—General Cameron: his excellent work when Administrator—Arrange with Chinese Government for erection of Gap Rock Lighthouse: its value to the colony—Overcrowding of town of Victoria; description of Chinese houses there; measures for remedying it—New Building Ordinance passed after much difficulty — Praya Reclamation: ordinance for it passed, and first stone laid by H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught—European Reservation Ordinance: its value to the colony—Another reclamation project rendered abortive by non-agreement of Admiralty and War Office—Happy Valley drained: its usefulness as European recreation ground—Extradition of criminals: its difficulties—Ordinance on the subject.

THE routine and absolutely necessary work of Hong Kong administration seemed to me from the first to be much lighter than that of any Crown Colony which I had previously governed, and this impression was confirmed by subsequent experience. The basketful of papers which came to me every morning seemed much the same as in Fiji, but the work required to be done upon them was infinitely less. Mr. Stewart, the Colonial Secretary, though so modest that he was with great difficulty persuaded to accept that office, and so shy that any form of "society" was a positive pain to him, was a most excellent man for his place. Able himself, and having exceptional knowledge of China and the Chinese, he was fortunate also in having competent assistants, and his office was remarkably well organised. As a consequence, every paper sent to me for a decision had attached to it for reference all previous papers upon the same subject, with a précis of them, followed by a recommendation of what was to be done, which, if sometimes savouring of over-prudence, was almost always indicative of excellent judgment. Though his suggestions not unfrequently struck a differently constituted

mind as requiring supplement, it was in only rare instances that I failed to adopt them in substance, so that the incessant labour of considering what was to be done in every case, however trivial, which had so long oppressed me in St. Lucia, Trinidad, and except for a very short time in Fiji, was comparatively absent. In the matter of despatches also there was similar relief; except about specially important matters, a draft came to me for approval, which usually required little or no addition or amendment. In fact, I am inclined to think that not more often than once a week on the average did I require to write a despatch myself, the contrast between this and my former experience in Crown Colonies being greater even than in the case of minutes. It was, indeed, easy to see that a Governor might pass through his whole tenure of office, without falling into official disfavour, by doing little more than sign his name to the productions of others, and that the place would be a paradise to a man inclined to be idle.

I quickly found, however, that there was abundance of other than routine work to be done, and set about doing it.

In reading over various papers and reports in order to become *au courant* with recent administrative and legislative work, I was much struck by the manner in which General (now Sir William) Cameron had discharged the duties of his temporary office. As a rule the *locum tenens* of a Governor is expected to deal only with routine and to abstain from legislation. However, as measures providing better for the health of the community had become urgent, and as Mr. Price, the Surveyor-General, had prepared an elaborate Bill with this object, General Cameron felt justified in making an exception to the above rule; and after having evidently given much consideration to a difficult question, sure of encountering much opposition, he courageously brought the Bill into Council, and after several protracted sittings, in which he displayed much of both tact and firmness, caused the measure to pass into law. The task was a somewhat invidious one, which he

might without any discredit have shirked. But it was so well accomplished, that I felt it ought to receive special recognition; and accordingly one of my earliest despatches to the Secretary of State expressed strongly my feeling on this point, while at the same time inviting approval in respect of Cameron's general conduct of affairs. I was glad to find that the Secretary of State agreed with my view, and caused a copy of my despatch on the subject to be sent to the War Office.

Without making reference to innumerable minor matters of administration of which I have given a sufficient idea in connection with my account of work in other colonies, I propose to give some details of the more important matters which occupied my time in Hong Kong.[1]

One of the first subjects which engaged my attention was the loss suffered by the shipping trade from the want of a lighthouse to guide vessels approaching the port from the south. Owing to the many islands on either side of the route, the danger of approach at night, or in fog, was such as to cause delays, sometimes of many hours; and the aggregate annual loss thus occasioned was estimated at an enormous sum. This, it was easy to see, might for the most part be saved by the erection of a lighthouse, provided with the means of fog-signalling, at the entrance of the dangerous passage, or at a distance of some twenty-eight miles from Hong Kong.

[1] I may mention that, at the outset of my administration, I experienced an unpleasant surprise, and, as on several previous occasions, was made to suffer in the matter of emolument. Owing to the great fall in the value of silver, my predecessor had been permitted to draw half the salary in England at the par rate of exchange (four shillings and twopence for the dollar). No mention of any change having been made to me on my appointment, I naturally took it for granted that the same arrangement would be continued. But having made remittances to my family in England in accordance with it, I was summarily informed that this privilege would cease. As since the accession of Sir George Bowen to the office silver had fallen still further, and, as very shortly acknowledged by the colonists, the salary of the Governor had for this and other reasons become even more inadequate to the demands upon it than before, this discontinuance operated as a very severe penalty, which, I venture to think, was also very unjust. It caused me a loss of some £700 a year.

All the experts were agreed that the best position for such a lighthouse was upon a small island called the Gap Rock ; but the Chinese Maritime Customs, which (under the able administration of Sir Robert Hart) had done such magnificent work in lighting the rest of the China coast, objected to undertake the erection in this spot on account of the difficulty of landing upon it, the great cost, which owing to this cause would be incurred for building, being not unnaturally regarded as disproportionate to the benefit likely to accrue from the light to Chinese trade other than that of Hong Kong.

On the other hand, as the rock belonged to China, Hong Kong could not undertake the work without the permission of the Chinese Government ; and on looking into the matter I found that for many years previously a desultory correspondence had been carried on with reference to the subject without effective result.

Feeling that the object was one which deserved an energetic effort, I, after obtaining the views of various experts and gaining a sufficient mastery of the previous history of the question, formulated, and on the 16th January, 1881, forwarded to the British Minister at Pekin to be laid before the Chinese Government, three alternative proposals, in the hope that one or other of them could hardly fail to be accepted. Each of these involved full recognition of Chinese sovereignty over the rock, and undertook the provision by Hong Kong of the cost of erecting and maintaining the lighthouse, by whichever of the two Governments the work should be done.

In the hope of achieving a settlement of the question in time to enable commencement of the work in the following April (which is the beginning of the short season when landing on the rock is comparatively easy), I requested the previous sanction of the Secretary of State for any one of the proposals which might be accepted. This sanction was given and, in accordance with my request, was telegraphed to Pekin by the Foreign Office.

The matter, however, was not to be settled so quickly, and only after much further correspondence as to the terms on which the erection was to be permitted, and as to the nature of the light, was I in a position at the end of the following August to announce the conclusion of an arrangement by message to the Legislative Council.

This arrangement was described by the British Minister at Pekin as a combination of the first and third of my proposals, and, though not in all respects such as might have been desired, was evidently the best obtainable; and it achieved the main object aimed at. In the course of the following year the lighthouse was erected, the great difficulties encountered in doing so having been successfully overcome by the energy and exceptional engineering capacity of Mr. Cooper, the engineer of the works, who, I have been glad to observe, has since obtained the promotion in the Service which he has fully deserved.

In connection with this subject I may mention that I entered at the same time into negotiations with the Chinese Government with reference to the erection of another lighthouse upon the Islet of Waglan, also then belonging to China, but situated at a point much nearer Hong Kong. This being much more easy of construction, the Chinese Customs undertook and completed the work themselves after I had left Hong Kong, so that now the approaches to the harbour have been rendered satisfactorily safe, and an incalculable boon has thus been secured for the vast tonnage which enters the port of Victoria.

No one who saw the Chinese quarters of the town of Victoria could fail to be struck with the insanitary conditions under which the houses had been permitted to be built—many dwellings touching each other, not, as in other towns, only at the sides, but at the back, so that the only opening for air was the narrow street in front; and this evil was rendered the greater by the internal arrangements and great overcrowding of these houses. Each floor ordinarily consisted of a passage down the middle, on either side of

which were several diminutive rooms, most of which were tenanted to their fullest capacity. Except the two rooms on each floor facing the street, none of these had any window, so that the door gave the only entrance to light and fresh air. The passage itself being dark and stuffy, the condition of the rooms can be imagined ; in fact, very many of them were involved in pitchy darkness even at midday. Only people of a race such as the Chinese, inured by long ages of natural selection to similar conditions, could maintain health and strength in such places ; and that the death-rate of Hong Kong, instead of being much higher, should have, in fact, been lower than in any of the great towns of the East of which statistics had been published, is striking evidence of their wonderful vitality.

But apart from the question of mortality such a condition of things, with the misery and other evil consequences proceeding from it, could hardly fail to excite a desire for improving it, and so a great part of my time in Hong Kong was occupied with efforts in this direction.

The elaborate measure prepared by Mr. Price, which originally contained more clauses than the eighty-nine which appear in the ordinance as eventually passed, many of them conflicting with vested interests likely to be strenuously defended, required, of course, very careful inquiry and consideration. In order to understand its manifold bearing upon sanitation and safety in building, I had to pay various visits of inspection to the localities which chiefly indicated the necessity of particular clauses ; and, with a view to learn what were the objections, valid or otherwise, which were likely to be raised, I had many interviews with proprietors, both European and Chinese.

Owing to the occupation of my time with other matters, it was not until the latter end of 1888 that I felt sufficiently primed with the subject to bring the measure before the Executive Council with a view by exhaustive discussion there to put it into shape for introduction to the Legislature. This duty occupied several long meetings, which suggested

fresh difficulties to be overcome; so that it was not until March, 1889, that I was able to bring the Bill before the Legislature.[1]

The greater part of the Bill passed without dissent; but there were a few clauses to which the opposition promised to be serious. I had a very long discussion in my office with Mr. Price, as representing the view of extreme stringency, and Mr. Chater, the able representative of the landlord interest. The result was a compromise, and the Bill, amended accordingly, was passed without dissent.

The ordinance in its final form, if not as stringent as I should have liked, was capable of effecting great improvement in existing conditions. Should its provisions have been rigidly enforced by subsequent administrations, it has, I do not doubt, been a considerable factor, if not in actually improving the health of the community, at least in preventing it from the deterioration then threatened by the continual influx of people from the mainland.

Simultaneously with the attention given to this Bill was the much greater consideration required for a scheme of reclamation which owed its conception to the fertile brain of Mr. (now Sir P.) Chater and the careful elaboration of its details principally to Mr. Price. It elicited my interest at once, as among many other advantages it promised to be a powerful factor in relieving the overcrowding above described.[2]

[1] After all, the alterations from the original form, though many, were very few of them of much importance; so that the credit attaching to this useful ordinance, as finally passed, not less belongs to Mr. Price. That officer was in this matter ably assisted by his subordinate, Mr. Cooper, of whose talent I expressed so high an opinion that his subsequent promotions in the Service have afforded me peculiar gratification.

[2] My Blue Book report, dated 31st October, 1889, contains a description of this scheme in connection with the ordinance for its adoption, which was unanimously passed by the Legislature:—

"The Praya Reclamation Ordinance, 1889, is a measure for facilitating a great scheme of reclamation along the whole of the western front of the town of Victoria, extending for 3,051 yards. By this project fifty-seven acres will be added to the town, including a praya or esplanade seventy feet wide, together with other streets of an aggregate length of 5,518 yards. The cost, estimated at

Needless to say that before the scheme, which was legalised by ordinance, was offered for consideration by the Legislature various objections had to be answered and many difficulties overcome. Without entering into uninteresting detail, I may mention that as the foreshore proved to be of very varying depth, a careful survey of the bottom, which occupied several months, had to be made with a view to the fair apportionment of the cost of the work between the frontage owners. Then settlements had to be made with these owners collectively and individually, as also with the proprietors of wharves requiring to be removed, while a clear definition had to be arrived at, on which opinions

$2,921,365, is to be defrayed by the proprietors (including the Government) of the land now facing the sea, who will in turn receive reclaimed land opposite to their frontage. As the profits on the work are expected to be large, it is probable that the great majority of the frontage proprietors will accept the terms offered. In the case of dissentients, the expense of carrying out that portion of the work, in which they decline to participate, will fall upon the Government. Though it is hoped that the Public Treasury will gain largely by the work (1) from the difference between the cost of reclamation and the value of such reclaimed land as will belong to the Crown, (2) from the building sites which will be rendered available at the west end of the town by the removal of earth required for the reclamation, and (3) in rents and rates from the large area added to the town, the principal objects of the scheme were (1) to afford an opening for relief from the present overcrowding of the population, (2) to bring the front of the town in immediate juxtaposition with deep water in the place of the present silted-up foreshore, which is often extremely noxious, and (3) to improve the appearance and increase the mercantile convenience of the town front by the provision of better buildings and of a wider praya more adapted to the wants of a vast and growing commerce.

"The carrying out of this great scheme, which is due to the initiation of the Honourable C. P. Chater, does not appear likely to present any serious engineering problems, and the successful solution of such as there are may be regarded as only a question of time. The principal difficulties are in connection with the financial arrangements and the due adjustment of private interests and claims. This portion of the subject, which has already occasioned much consideration and a large correspondence, is likely to require the careful attention of the Government for some time to come. But while it cannot be expected that all concerned will be completely satisfied, nor that during the progress of the work there will be an entire absence of complaints on the score of inconvenience, I do not permit myself to entertain a doubt that when the whole is completed the undertaking will be universally regarded as having been a great and lasting benefit to the community."

Great buildings facing harbour constructed since 1841 on reclamation

Government House

were at first by no means unanimous, as to the share of the cost to be undertaken by the colony.

At length, however, all obstacles being overcome, the ordinance passed the Council unanimously without dissent, and received the sanction of the Secretary of State.

Though I had time to organise the special staff required for the work, I was unfortunately not present at its commencement. For being compelled, as will be seen, by ill-health to leave the colony early in 1890, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught laid the first stone in my absence. His Royal Highness, however, graciously accorded me such compensation as was possible by acknowledging the part I had taken in promoting the enterprise and by naming after me the old praya.[1] This, now having houses on both sides of it, is the principal street in the town, and boasts property which is probably of much greater value than any equal area in the East.

I am told that almost the whole reclamation is now covered with buildings—many of them very fine ones—that the land upon it is worth from ten to twenty-five dollars per square foot, and that yet rents in the rest of the town have not only not fallen, as was anticipated by some of the objectors, but have risen. The flow of immigration from China must therefore have continued, as I anticipated; and when it is considered what, under these circumstances, must have been the overcrowding but for this addition to the area of the town, and how great a benefit the reclamation has thus been to the community, one is reconciled to the enormous profit derived by private owners, which I suspect has been nearer to two millions sterling than to the amount originally estimated.

The above enterprise, though I devoted much labour to furthering it, and may claim some credit for securing general assent to it and the approval of the Secretary of State, I should be doing injustice if I did not largely attribute to Mr. Chater, who not only devised it, but by his suggestions

[1] The road then fronting the harbour.

and his tactful dealing with objectors had the chief part in obtaining the unanimous adherence of the owners interested.

Another measure which I am informed has proved of inestimable benefit, not only to the European population (to whom the past prosperity of Hong Kong is principally due, and on whom its future must largely depend), but even to the richer Chinese, was devised, and the ordinance for giving it effect was drafted, by myself.

I refer to the European District Reservation Ordinance of 1888. This measure dealt with an evil which had been recognised by successive Governors for years before my time, and represented the first effort to provide an effective remedy. The high rents obtainable from Chinese-inhabited houses, crowded together as above described, had caused a continually increasing intrusion of such houses upon the quarter of the town formerly occupied exclusively by Europeans. This result would have been comparatively endurable if it were possible for Europeans to live in health when surrounded by such houses. But unlike the Chinese, who, as I have said, are comparatively insensible to the conditions inseparable from extreme density of population, they are rendered ill and miserable by the effects of habits thereby produced. Little by little, but at a gradually increasing rate, the Europeans were being, so to speak, pushed out of the town of Victoria, and it seemed probable that before long there would be no suitable area for their residence there, and that such as remained in the colony would have to choose between the alternatives of living under these unhealthy conditions or of incurring the heavy expense, possible only to the comparatively wealthy, of residence in the hill district.

This, in the long run, would, as diminishing the European population, have been prejudicial to the Chinese themselves. For though possessed of many valuable characteristics, they are still, and are likely to be for a long time to come, lacking in the qualities essential to true progress. Without the

presence of a considerable complement of Europeans, the colony would no more maintain, than it could have achieved, its existing property.

Holding this view strongly, I accordingly provided in this ordinance that a certain portion of the town should be reserved, not for exclusively European occupation, but for houses built according to European models, and to be occupied in much more limited numbers than is usual with Chinese. If Chinese should choose to build houses there, and to live in accordance with these conditions, there was nothing to prevent their doing so; and I am told that in the years which have since elapsed a considerable number of the well-to-do among them have, in fact, availed themselves of this privilege, while the law has well fulfilled its principal object.

It is to the credit of the landowners, whose interest was unquestionably affected, that they offered no opposition to this ordinance, while no objections were made to it, as I had anticipated, on the ground that it was a class measure. In fact, as meeting a generally recognised want, it passed unanimously in Council, and met with general approbation on the part of the Chinese as well as Europeans.

The Crown Lands Resumption Ordinance, 1889, making better provision for the acquirement of land for public purposes, was initiated and passed by me for a purpose, the non-fulfilment of which more than anything else made me feel bitterly my breakdown in health. Inquiries quietly instituted had led me to believe that the most complete relief to the congestion of the town might be gradually effected without great loss to the Colonial Treasury by the compulsory purchase of some of the most congested areas, and by the substitution for narrow lanes and insanitary dwellings of broad streets and comparatively civilised houses with access to the air at the back, the space lost on the ground being made up by the height of the buildings. Had I been spared to carry out my fixed intention in this respect, which, as is known to those about me, was continually occupying my

thoughts, there is at least a possibility that the worst consequences of the plague epidemic which invaded the colony a few years after my departure might have been prevented, and it is not even beyond conception that there would have been no carriage of this scourge to the people of India. For I understand it is almost beyond doubt that the infection which first reached Bombay came from Hong Kong.

During the consideration of the Reclamation Scheme above referred to and the negotiations connected with it, I was giving much time and attention to another great project which had emanated from the fertile brain of Mr. Price. The principal object of this was the provision of additional means of communication between the eastern and western portions of the town, then almost cut off from one another by land in the occupation of the Admiralty and the War Department, the one narrow road which ran through this property being insufficient for the existing traffic and entirely inadequate to permit of the expansion of the town eastward which was required to provide an additional outlet for the crowded population. It is unnecessary to enter into the particulars of this project, as it was rendered abortive by the failure of the home departments to agree upon it. Suffice to say that the advantages promised to the Admiralty and War Office were to the latter reclaimed land valued at 1,325,856 dollars and to the former the saving of the cost which would soon have to be incurred for the removal of a silted-up foreshore already become noxious, the provision of a cut-stone basin, offering a much-needed protection for naval boats and launches, and deep water alongside the naval yard at all times of tide, besides reclaimed land valued at 156,792 dollars. I have never heard what were the objections to this scheme. Its benefit to their respective services was so patent to Admiral Sir Nowell Salmon and General Sir Bevan Edwards that after several conferences with me and consultation with their experts, they accorded it a warm approval. I understand that a reclamation and improvement with the

same object has now been commenced after a lapse of eleven years ; and I presume, therefore, that the congestion referred to above, which in my time was bad enough, had at last become intolerable.

Discussions on this and similar projects having the same object had in my time gone on for years between the home departments concerned, which apparently have only now come to an agreement. It seems to me that when the interests of different departments appear to be conflicting, if a committee, composed of representatives of each, with a chairman belonging to neither, were appointed to discuss the matter orally, reams of correspondence might be saved, and matters would often be quickly settled which, under the present absurd system, too often involve years of unnecessary delay.

Besides the important public works, such as the Tytam waterworks, filter-beds for the Pokfolum waterworks, and Victoria College (a handsome building erected at a cost of 251,587 dollars), which were completed in my time, others were commenced. Of scarcely less importance than the great reclamation already mentioned was a completely new drainage system for the town of Victoria. Before the plans for this work were adopted, a wearying controversy between experts had taken place as to whether house drainage and storm waters should be provided for in the same or separate systems. The latter, which was strongly recommended by the Government engineer, Mr. Cooper, in the face of much opposition from unofficial experts, was adopted by Mr. Osbert Chadwick, C.M.G., the eminent sanitary engineer, who, at my request, was specially sent to the colony to give advice on the subject.

Another work, commenced entirely on my own responsibility, and which I had the satisfaction of seeing finished, was the drainage of the alluvial plain in the Happy Valley. The races were held on a course which had been made round the outskirts of this plain, and though this in average weather was fairly dry, the land inside, in area about a

hundred acres, was an unhealthy swamp which could not be otherwise than deleterious to the health of the eastern end of the town. That the place was really malarious, as suggested by its appearance, was made evident by the exceptional prevalence of fever among those who used it for riding and other recreation, and my attention was specially attracted to the subject when more than one member of my own staff being affected in this way, medical opinion held this swamp to be the cause. When I found how comparatively small would be the cost of drainage, it seemed a matter of wonder that such an improvement had not been effected before; and finding that public opinion was strongly favourable to it, I caused the work to be at once commenced, in accordance with a plan devised by Mr. Price. With the exception of a pond of some ten acres in area, the earth taken from which was used for raising the level of the rest, the whole plain was, in the course of a few months, converted into a dry field, which has served ever since as the principal recreation ground of the town, being used for football and cricket by the soldiers, sailors, and schoolboys, and for golf, hockey, football, and polo by the other European inhabitants. So that besides fulfilling its principal object, this work supplied a much-needed want; and though it involved to me little beyond a slight responsibility, I am inclined to think, from what I hear, that it will cause my name to be longer remembered in Hong Kong than other work which cost me infinitely greater labour and trouble.

There is one question which always has been, and probably ever will be, one of special difficulty in Hong Kong. I deal thus with it in my report to the Imperial Government:—

"The Chinese Extradition Ordinance, 1889, represents an effort to improve the law relating to the rendition, in accordance with treaty obligations, of Chinese subjects charged with the commission of crime in China. The principal change is one which, with regard to the rendition of prisoners, lessens the responsibility of the Magistrate and increases that of the Governor in Council, who, however, will now receive the assistance of the Chief Justice

in the consideration of the evidence. There is also a much-needed schedule specifying the crimes in respect of which rendition may be granted and a provision (passed in deference to fears generally prevalent among the intelligent Chinese) by which special security is afforded to persons who have been a year resident in the colony. I have dealt at length with this difficult subject in other despatches, and it will be sufficient to say here that, so long as Chinese ideas as to methods and sufficiency of proof are so utterly at variance with the requirements of English law, it will, I fear, be practically impossible to avoid international disagreements as to what prisoners rightly come under the designation of criminals whose extradition is obligatory by the treaty."

This law was the outcome of a desire on the part of the home Government, as well as the local Executive, to assist towards the better fulfilment of our treaty-obligation to surrender criminals, and to prevent Hong Kong from becoming an Alsatia for the ruffians of the mainland. Various circumstances had rendered attempts to obtain extradition almost invariably futile, and the expense to the Government of China was so great that they had almost ceased, their failure being the subject of frequent remonstrance on the part of the Chinese authorities. Another effect of this failure was that a considerable number of pirates and other criminals were using Hong Kong as a base for depredations on the mainland. Experience had, however, shown that strong precautions were necessary to protect against suborned evidence those who were only political offenders, or whose presence was desired for "squeezing" purposes, and this especially as there was much doubt as to the faithful fulfilment of the Chinese undertaking to refrain from torturing the extradited.[1]

[1] It is commonly said that capital sentences are never carried out, except after the confession of the accused, which, failing other means, is obtained by torture.

CHAPTER V

Violation of Hong Kong territory by Chinese officials; arrests in Kowloon—My protest and its successful result—Lord Knutsford's public approval with singular accompaniment—Viceroy Chang-chi-Tung: his discourtesy contrasted with courtesy of his successor, Li Hang Chang—Visit to Canton and singular episode—Strike of cargo-boatmen successfully dealt with—Protection of women and girls; objections to abolition of compulsory examination; English sentimentalism causes infinitely more suffering to women than it prevents—Plan for improving interpretation—Compulsory vaccination ordinance and subsequent doubts on the subject—Other laws—Death of Mr. Stewart, Colonial Secretary; loss suffered thereby—Land speculation by public officers—Outbreak of convicts—Muscular strength of Chinese—Differ with Colonial Office on subject of audit—Alter system of selling Government land; gain of annual revenue therefrom.

THE difficulty of obtaining extradition had induced Chinese officials on one or two occasions before my arrival in Hong Kong to take possession of accused persons by more summary means. In one recent case a man was seized in Hong Kong Harbour, carried to the Chinese mainland, and immediately executed. The Governor had taken no action beyond reporting the circumstance to the home Government; and though after diplomatic representation a tardy apology was obtained from the Chinese Government, the fact of this slight amende was unknown, it being generally believed that no punishment whatever had been inflicted upon the officials concerned.

This was only one of many instances within my experience where the policy of keeping things quiet, which used to be officially so much approved, was gained at the cost of increased trouble in the future.

For previous impunity was no doubt the cause of a still graver outrage on the part of Chinese officials which took

place in 1889. On former occasions the seizure of prisoners, though there was no moral doubt that they were made in British waters, did not admit of positive proof on this point, there being in part of Hong Kong Harbour, which at that time had Chinese territory on one side of it, no line of demarcation between the waters of the two countries. In this case, however, the outrage was committed on land which was unquestionably British territory.

According to the Chinese account, information having reached the Viceroy that two notorious malefactors were living in British Kowloon, he had sent officers to watch for and arrest them in case they should cross the border. Whether this was the full extent of their instructions, it was of course impossible to learn. It is certain, however, that these officers one night deliberately crossed the border into our territory and arrested the accused men in the house where they were living and carried them back into China. When report of this occurrence was made to me on July 25th, I caused a strong protest to be addressed to the Viceroy (Chang-chi-Tung). On the 6th August I received from Mr. Alabaster, H.B.M.'s Consul in Canton, the Viceroy's reply stating that the men were arrested upon Chinese territory. I at once appointed a Commission to obtain sworn evidence on this point; but before its report was received, on the 15th August, I received a petition from relatives saying that the prisoners had been taken into the interior under sentence to be executed in three days.

My position in these circumstances was a somewhat embarrassing one. Strictly speaking, I should have consulted the Executive Council as to the course to be taken. But having previously sounded the two members whose long experience gave a special weight to their opinions about relations with China, I knew that they would be averse from any stronger protest than had been already made, and would simply advise report of the case to the home Government. Such a course would have meant the

certain death of the accused, which would have had very serious consequences to the colony, unless reparation for such an outrage were more immediate and complete than that obtained on previous occasions. Many of the higher class of Chinese, whose mercantile enterprise had contributed not a little to the prosperity of the colony, were highly excited about the result of this case. They had vague fears about the greed and power of the mandarins, and were not without reason for apprehending that their next step, if this were allowed to pass, would be to make arrests on the island of Hong Kong itself. In any case, British Kowloon would no longer be a safe residence, and a check would be given to its development. These considerations caused me to make up my mind quickly upon the action to be taken; and as I feared that the view of the Executive Council might be opposed to it, I determined to take it on my own responsibility. Accordingly I telegraphed to Mr. Alabaster as follows:—

"News has reached me that the men improperly seized at San Shui Po are to be immediately executed. Please obtain from Viceroy assurance that this will not happen, and warn him that if, pending investigation, there should be committed this fresh outrage upon international comity, I shall be compelled to take serious steps with a view to immediate satisfaction."

All those who had had longest experience of the country were of opinion that this message would fail of the desired effect; but though of course not altogether without anxiety on the subject, I had a strong feeling that I had rightly estimated the Chinese character, and that it was only the absence of sufficient strength of attitude in the past which, since the days of Palmerston, had brought us so many humiliations.

And the event proved me to be right. For the next morning I received a telegram from Alabaster (who, as subsequently appeared, had carried my message to the Viceroy in the middle of the night) to the effect that orders

had been sent to bring the accused men to Canton, with the addition that "in case of accident, Kowloon officers will be held responsible." It was clear from this that the men were saved, unless they had not been already executed, of which the word "accident" seemed to hint the possibility. This "accident," however, did not occur; and shortly afterwards, the Commission having made a report establishing as beyond doubt that the men were arrested on British territory, I caused a copy of it to be forwarded to the Viceroy, making at the same time a renewed demand upon him, couched in firm but conciliatory terms, and stating my confidence that, as he must at last be convinced that the arrest had been made on British territory, he would at once deliver the men into our hands, to be detained a reasonable time to allow of the framing of proper demands for their extradition.

The day after the receipt of this letter the men were delivered to the public officers whom I sent to receive them, and the affair was thus satisfactorily closed.

When my report of these occurrences reached home, Lord Knutsford replied by a despatch expressing general approval of my action and satisfaction with the result. Another despatch, however, which was not intended for publication, informed me that some parts of my letter were somewhat too threatening, and might have placed H.M.'s Government in a difficult position if the surrender had not been promptly made. No one having any competent knowledge of China would doubt for a moment that it was my strong language alone which brought about the surrender. Would H.M.'s Government have been in a less difficult position than that thus contemplated, if the prisoners had been executed? If so, it would imply an intention to exact no substantial reparation for an outrage which, grave enough in itself, would, if dealt with only by a weak diplomacy, have most certainly led to graver ones in the future, and would have sensibly affected the interests of Hong Kong, besides still further lowering British prestige

throughout China. It was at such times that one looked back with special regret to the days of Palmerston.

Very shortly after the above occurrence Chang-chi-Tung was removed to his present Viceroyalty. He is an extremely able man, and probably one of the most upright administrators which China possesses; but he was reputed in my time to be extremely anti-European in sentiment, and in accordance with what I was told had been his invariable custom in passing Hong Kong on his way north, he sent me an excuse for omitting the courtesies which are customary on such occasions. He was at least more honest than another Chinese official, who, expressing a wish to pay his respects to the Governor, made a condition of doing so which he well knew would not be granted, viz. that one hundred coolies should prostrate themselves before him on landing.

I refer to this apparent discourtesy on the part of Chang-chi-Tung in order to contrast it with the attitude of his successor, Li Hang Chang, brother of the celebrated Li Hung-Chang. Immediately after his arrival he sent to me a deputation, consisting of three of his highest officers, who informed me that, being forbidden by his instructions to leave his government, he took the only means in his power of showing his respect. They, at the same time, expressed on his behalf an earnest desire for the most friendly relations, adding an effusion of characteristically Chinese compliments to the British nation and to me personally. This attitude of friendliness was maintained as long as I remained in the East. When a short time afterwards I had privately arranged for a two days' visit to Canton, accompanied by my wife, with the intention of remaining incognito, the new Viceroy in some way discovered my intention, and we were surprised by the firing of salutes in various places as our steamer passed up the river. On landing I was received in state, and was escorted by a large guard to the Viceroy's residence, where there was again firing, and a great entertainment had been provided. Nothing could be

more courteous and cordial than my reception; and whatever may have been Li Hang Chang's official reputation, he could hardly be surpassed as a host. He returned my visit the next day at the British Consulate, remaining for over two hours in conversation. He was supposed to pride himself upon being the best-dressed man in China; and he showed himself on this occasion as not without regard for his personal appearance. For when he had become specially cordial towards the end of our long interview, he insisted upon trying on my cocked hat, and while inspecting himself with this adornment in a mirror near a window, became a subject, not only of amusement to us, but of evident astonishment to the crowd of his followers outside. It was difficult to conceive that here was the almost absolute ruler of some thirty millions of men.

At parting the great man presented me with a large photograph of himself and another in colours of his son. But all this attentive friendliness to myself was as nothing in Chinese eyes compared with a courtesy shown to my wife; for a guard of fifty men was sent to conduct her through the streets, which were at the time somewhat dangerous to Europeans, this being, I was told, an attention which had never before been accorded to a European woman. I mention this attitude on the part of the new Viceroy, as showing that my part in the affair bringing about the surrender of the prisoners, had had, to say the least, no deleterious effect in diminishing respect for British representatives, or in producing less friendly relations between Hong Kong and its nearest neighbours.

In the spring of 1888 occurred a great strike on the part of some 4,000 cargo-boatmen, which caused much interference with the trade of the port, and at one time threatened serious disturbance. The cause was a regulation, passed before my arrival in the colony, according to which each cargo-boatman, as the condition of obtaining a licence, was compelled to provide (in addition to a small fee of twenty-five cents) a photographic portrait of himself

for the purpose of identification. My inquiries into the subject at once rendered it evident that, supposing a licence to be expedient for each boatman, the photograph was really necessary to preclude facility of transfer. But it was at the same time equally evident that this very facility of transfer had rendered comparatively tolerable a tax on labour which somewhat savoured of oppression, and to the burthen of which the cost and trouble involved in providing photographs would make a very considerable addition. Facility of police supervision over cargo-boats, it seemed to me, might be equally well attained by less questionable means.

While for these reasons sympathising with the strikers as having just cause for complaint, I felt that in a community of this kind it would be unwise to amend the regulation until they had modified their attitude of combined obstruction to trade, inasmuch as the success of pressure under such circumstances would have quickly caused it to be used for less legitimate objects. Notification was therefore made to them that while they as free men were of course at liberty to cease work if they chose to do so, any attempt on their part at disorder or intimidation of others would be sternly repressed, and they were at the same time informed in conciliatory terms that when they returned to work their complaints would at once receive careful consideration. In somewhat less than a fortnight from the commencement of the strike this policy had at length the desired effect, and after the men had returned to work the regulations were reconsidered. As then amended, the tax on ordinary boatmen was abolished, and the necessity of a licence with its accompanying photograph was imposed only upon the head man in charge of each boat, the restricted requirement being, it was believed, quite sufficient to fix responsibility in respect of irregularities such as had originally given occasion to the regulations.

Another important subject which occupied my attention from the first, and which was dealt with by ordinance in

1889, was the protection of women and girls. In my Blue Book report forwarded in that year this ordinance is thus referred to:—

"The system of purchasing or kidnapping girls, often of very tender age, with the object of training them for a life of degradation, seems to be generally prevalent in China, and its suppression in Hong Kong is attended with many difficulties. So many are interested in it, and so much of the extraordinary cunning of the Chinese is employed in concealing its operation, that the complete extinction at an early date of its injurious effects cannot be anticipated. It is hoped, however, that this measure, which occupied many days in its consideration by the Executive and Legislative Councils, will at last impose a serious check upon it, and will eventually render this abominable traffic too dangerous to be any longer attractive."

I then proceed to give my reasons for regarding as an obligatory duty my emphatic support to the protest of the unofficial members of Council against one of the clauses which I had passed by official votes under instruction from the Secretary of State. This was one giving legislative sanction to the policy already adopted by Executive order before my arrival in the colony, of terminating "compulsory examination."

Against this policy, which is still maintained in deference to English sentiment, as represented in the House of Commons, I again feel it a duty to raise my feeble voice. It seems to me that the doctrine of non-recognition of vice by the State is in this instance carried to an extreme which is indefensible not only on practical, but on moral grounds, and that it has become something analogous to a fetish whose worship has far more cruel consequences to humanity than that product of African superstition. I hold, in fact, that the policy which is intended for the protection of women is the cause of immeasurably more injury to them. Advocacy of this policy, though I accord full sympathy to its excellent motive, is, I venture to think, due to a sentimentalism which lacks all sense of proportion. It is

known that wherever "examination" was in force there was a great diminution of disease, and it has been shown by sad experience, not only in England, but in India and China, that on its discontinuance there was an immediate and startling increase of infection. On the other hand, deplorable as are mistakes in respect of the character of the subjects examined, such cases were in Hong Kong non-existent, and even in England were exceedingly few. Had they been many more, ought the injury thus caused to outweigh in consideration the infinitely greater injury caused by the spread of a disease which communicates its poison to succeeding generations? It is, I believe, now becoming generally accepted as a fact, established by the concurrent experience of the medical profession, that the presence of this poison in children has a serious moral effect upon character, as producing a weakness which predisposes to crime. But even if it be admitted that the theory on this subject is an induction not yet supported by a sufficient number of instances, that which is beyond all doubt is the enormous aggregate of physical and mental suffering which is caused, directly and indirectly, by this fell disease. Is it possible that the supporters of a policy, adopted on behalf of tens or even hundreds of women, have considered its effects upon tens of thousands of the same sex and probably of millions yet unborn? Have they contemplated the innumerable mothers who, themselves suffering physically, are rendered still more miserable by seeing the sufferings of their children?

As for the only alternative to "examination," viz. the suppression by moral influences of a vice which has been prevalent among all peoples and which, after nineteen hundred years of Christianity, is as rampant now as ever it was, I apprehend that even those who are most sanguine of success by such means can hardly expect that it will be achieved otherwise than very gradually. But what of the incalculable misery caused in the meantime by the rejection of the more rapidly effective remedy?

Fiat justitia ruat cœlum, "better a thousand guilty should escape punishment than one innocent should suffer," are maxims having underneath them a principle akin to that of "non-recognition of vice by the State"; but fortunately for society, governments and courts do not conform to them too strictly, and do not fear to run the risk of injustice to individuals where their action or non-action concerns the welfare of the great majority. Why, then, in this case should possible injury to a few hundreds be held to outweigh certain injury to millions?

Alas, that most people only recognise an evil which is close at hand! If the mass of suffering caused by this infection could be brought into a focus so as to be seen by the most unimaginative eye, it can hardly be doubted that the only practical remedy would be immediately adopted.[1]

Besides those previously mentioned, another subject which sorely needed attention at this time was interpretation, many failures of justice and other inconveniences having been caused by inefficiency in this respect. After consultation with those of my advisers whose experience could aid me, I drafted myself a scheme, afterwards approved by the Secretary of State, under which inducements of various kinds were provided for the study of Chinese by officers already in the Service and by those who desired to enter it. Special reference to this was made in an address presented on my departure, and I can scarcely doubt that it has proved useful.

The frequent introduction of small-pox into the colony, and its fatal prevalence when it had once obtained a footing, together with the impracticability of excluding it by quarantine where steamers and other vessels daily brought their hundreds of passengers from the mainland of China,

[1] The enormous increase of disease consequent upon the policy of non-examination has, I understand, led to other measures by which this pest is dealt with like other "infectious diseases," and the isolation is enforced of those affected by it. The difficulty of discovering the infected renders these measures less effective than the system of examination; but it is better, at any rate, than the policy of complete non-recognition.

caused me to take into consideration the expediency of a compulsory vaccination law. Somewhat to my surprise I found that the Chinese, though they reject for the most part other applications of Western medical science, were alive to the benefit derivable from vaccination and raised no objection to it. This was the second colony in which I had caused the enactment of such a law, but I must confess that I should have hesitated about such action had I then known the strength of the arguments which have since been adduced against this mode of protection. Without being as yet an anti-vaccinationist, I should be relieved to hear of a more complete answer than I have yet seen to the powerful attack made upon vaccination over the great name of Alfred Russell Wallace, or to letters such as those of "Enquirer" in *The Times*. No one can deny the great decrease in the prevalence and virulence of small-pox since the discovery of Jenner's "discovery," but when the one is as a matter of course attributed to the other, one can hardly do otherwise than doubt whether there is not here the fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc* when one observes in the tables furnished by Mr. Wallace that several other of the most deadly diseases show a similar decrease within the same period. Happily I have no further responsibility with respect to the practical bearing of a question on which so much is to be said on either side.

Other laws passed during the period under review were :—

(1) A vagrancy law to check the heavy and increasing drain upon the resources of the colony caused by the influx of destitute persons and the cost of sending them to their often distant homes.

(2) For the improvement of the rating system, by which was raised a large proportion of the colony's revenue.

(3) To authorise judicial investigation in case of fires.

Besides (4) some forty other measures undeserving of particular mention.

In September, 1888, occurred the sudden death, from pneumonia, of Mr. Stewart, the Colonial Secretary. The

loss was a severe one to me as well as to the colony. He had one of the sweetest characters I have ever known. His modest, retiring, and unselfish disposition concealed abilities far above the average, and having an exceptional knowledge of the Chinese, he combined with it other qualities which made him an ideal Colonial Secretary for Hong Kong.

Mr. Lister, the treasurer—also an excellent officer—who would naturally succeed to the temporary vacancy, was absent from the colony. Under the circumstances, rather than make disturbance in other offices by an appointment for so short a period, I, with the aid of my excellent private secretary, Mr. F. H. May[1] (now C.M.G.), undertook myself the work of the Colonial Secretary's office; and as Mr. Lister, who arrived shortly afterwards, was almost immediately incapacitated by illness, in order that he might not lose the additional salary which his long and good service had so well deserved, I adopted the same means for performing his duties; and this additional work was my portion, practically almost without intermission, until the arrival of Mr. Fleming, the newly appointed Colonial Secretary, which did not take place until the middle of January.

Various circumstances had convinced me of the injury done to the Service by land speculations on the part of public officers, for which the rise of values in Hong Kong was affording peculiar temptations. In consequence I issued instructions to the officers of the Works Department, prohibiting them from the purchase of land at the Government auctions, and was about to publish a general order, applying to all public officers, containing a similar prohibition in respect of land purchases, except for an officer's private residence, when I was surprised by an opinion of the Attorney-General that my issue of such an order by the Executive would be *ultra vires*. Whereupon

[1] Since this was written Mr. Chamberlain has recognised the claims of this most deserving officer by appointing him Colonial Secretary of Hong Kong.

I placed the matter before the Secretary of State. The result was, as I expected, that Lord Knutsford approved of the regulation, and added that it was Her Majesty's pleasure that officers should conform to it.

A serious outbreak on the part of convicts employed outside the gaol took place in September, 1888, and resulted in the death of a valuable officer, besides that of two prisoners who were violently resisting recapture. Similar events had occurred in the past, and in view of the many temptations to escape afforded by the position of the island, I became satisfied that, without a large increase of expenditure for guards, they could not be prevented in the future. In a colony where labour was so cheap, the economical value of convict labour appeared to me very questionable, and my doubts on the subject were strengthened by a report from the Surveyor-General. As both medical opinion and previous experience conduced to a belief that outside work was not necessary to the health of the convicts, I determined that in future they should be confined to the precincts of the gaol. Ten months after this decision had been arrived at, I reported that there had been no reason to regret it, the health of the prisoners having in no way deteriorated.

Mention of the cheapness of free labour induces me to express the opinion that it is in considerable measure due to the extraordinary strength and endurance of the Chinese. Two little coolies might not unfrequently be seen going at a quick pace up the hill to the Peak—an ascent of 1,400 feet[1] and more, within a space of less than a mile—though they were carrying a chair containing a fat Chinaman of the richer class. And yet I once noticed that four Europeans of average strength were rendered very uncomfortable by the experiment of carrying much less weight in the same way on the level. It was found that bricks and other building material could be taken up to the Peak on men's backs more cheaply than the electric tramway could afford to do

[1] The height of the summit is about 1,900 feet.

it. And so, owing to the abundant building operations which during the whole of my time were being conducted on the Peak, long trains of coolies might be seen daily toiling up the extremely steep gradients of the road leading to it, each with great loads of bricks suspended from both ends of a pole resting on his shoulder. Some forty to fifty bricks would be the burthen of a single man, and, as to carry this weight up without rest would be beyond the strength even of a Chinaman, these indefatigable people would deposit their loads at some spot on the road, and rather than waste time, would seek relief in going down for others. By this practice of carrying by stages a single man would take up several loads in a day.

I now come to a difference I had with the Colonial Department on the subject of audit. Lord Knutsford had sanctioned a plan according to which the accounts of the colony would be sent home for final audit, an officer of the English Audit Department with a staff being stationed in the colony who was to be independent of the Governor. Mr. Stewart, the Colonial Secretary, who had up to that time superintended the Audit Department, was also strongly opposed to this change; and, apart from the high appreciation of his services which, on his death, was expressed by Lord Knutsford (in an official despatch, replying to my announcement of his lamented death), no one acquainted with his scrupulously honourable character would for a moment suppose that there was any personal element in the motives for this opposition. He pointed out that the translation from Chinese into English of many thousands of accounts would cause a great addition to the labour of the local staff, and that altogether the new arrangement would involve much additional expense with no greater security, or at all events with none which could not be equally well secured by less costly means. I was entirely in accord with his views, and forwarded to Lord Knutsford a despatch of remonstrance; and I felt so strongly convinced on the subject that when my arguments had failed

of effect, I repeated them in a stronger form, but again fruitlessly. Though I regarded as objectionable the permanent residence in a colony of a Government officer who was not to be under the control of the Governor, I was by no means averse to an audit independent of the local Executive; and, as I was given to understand that the new system was to be made applicable to all the Eastern colonies, I suggested that that object would be better achieved by the appointment of an officer, analogous to a bank inspector, with the duty of passing a certain portion of every year in each of those colonies. I was specially averse to the plan of sending the accounts to England; for not only did I know that a very similar system in connection with other colonies had years before been deliberately abandoned by a former Secretary of State, but I had had personal experience in connection with the Western Pacific High Commission which had not impressed me with the value of a distant audit, my principal remembrance of it being correspondence lasting for years respecting questions of a few shillings. Possibly my arguments on the subject, though failing as regards their immediate object, may have had some weight. For the similar arrangement contemplated for the other Eastern colonies has, I understand, never been carried out; and Ceylon, Singapore, and Mauritius still retain an audit which is merely local, and this, though their distance from England being much less, the period required for discovering and making known deficiencies would be considerably shorter than in the case of Hong Kong. To account for this difference of treatment I can only suppose that the officers in England, to be paid at the colonial expense, had already been appointed when my first despatch reached England. It is, I hear, urged in defence of the new system that some two years after it was established heavy defalcations which had been going on during the whole of that time were discovered by an Imperial audit officer. It seems to me, on the contrary, that the system cannot be very satisfactory

which failed to discover these depredations sooner; and it is, to say the least, open to doubt whether under the old system they would not have been detected as quickly.

Matters of finance, which always occupy a large portion of a Governor's time, are not of sufficient interest beyond the moment to deserve extended reference to them here. One change, however, of a financial character which owes to me its conception and introduction has, I do not doubt, made a permanent and substantial addition to the Hong Kong revenue. This change was in the system of land sales. Plots for building purposes, with a fixed annual rent attached to them, were sold by the Government at auction. Though the premiums thus obtained (amounting to over 160,000 dollars per annum) had been recently separated from ordinary revenue and applied to defence and other permanent works, they nevertheless served, and were spent as an aid to income. These premiums, though they were of course capital, and not revenue, might no doubt be rightly appropriated in this way; but money thus easily obtained is apt to be extravagantly spent on works not urgently required; and it seemed to me that the temptation to increase immediately available funds at the expense of the future had caused the retention of these premiums at a level unduly high with reference to the rents. I was at first inclined to think that the system of sale was a wrong one, and that premiums should be altogether abolished, competition for purchase being in respect of the rent. I was, however, converted from this view by reading a very able despatch, written many years before by Lord Grey, when minister for the colonies. The arguments adduced by him have for the most part escaped my memory; but I know that they were sufficiently strong to produce entire conviction. Consequently I retained the system of premiums, but reduced their upset price, proportionately increasing the rent. This was done with great success, the premiums obtained showing no decline proportionate to the increase of annual income. Accordingly in my Blue Book report I

intimated an intention of proceeding further in the same direction—an intention, however, which the unexpected curtailment of my period of service in Hong Kong prevented me from fulfilling. I do not know whether this idea has been carried out by my successors, or whether the consideration of present needs has proved too strong. In any case, if rent has been kept at the level on which I placed it, there must have been a large aggregate of gain to the revenue in the last twelve years.

CHAPTER VI

Regular sessions of Legislative Council and weekly meetings of Executive Council abolished—Colonial Office approve after explanation—Birth of a son—Work of convents in caring for derelict children—Chinese indifference to life; their good qualities; childishness—Ill-health compels change—Unprecedented demonstration on our departure for England—Narrow escape on approach to Marseilles—Reception at Colonial Office—Return to Hong Kong—Aden—Entertained at Singapore.

TOWARDS the end of 1888 I received a communication from the Colonial Office asking whether the Legislative Council still had regular sessions and whether there was a weekly meeting of the Executive Council, and if not, why I had departed in these respects from the course pursued by my predecessor, Sir George Bowen, which had received the sanction of the Secretary of State.

I may mention that some months before I had received a characteristic letter from Sir George, making a similar inquiry, and stating that in these respects he had "altered and improved the constitution of the colony." In replying to his letter, after dealing with other points, I said that this matter was one on which I was in such total disagreement with him that I saw no prospect of advantage in entering into a controversy on the subject. Hence I have little doubt that this inquiry from the Colonial Office was made at his suggestion.

My reply to the Colonial Office was to this effect: Regular sessions of the Legislature are appropriate to countries where the majority of members live at a distance from the seat of government, but have no *raison d'être* in a colony like Hong Kong, where every member of Council resides within two miles of the Council Chamber. It was often

convenient both to the Government and to the unofficial members that a meeting should be held in any season of the year at short notice, and occupying as little time as possible; but this would be comparatively difficult if such meeting could only be as part of a regular session, preceded by a formal opening with guards of honour, a "speech from the throne," and formal reply, etc., all of which, however appropriate to larger communities, were, it seemed to me, out of place in Hong Kong. The Governor had abundant opportunities of stating the condition of the colony and of mentioning the measures in contemplation, especially on the introduction of the annual estimates, and thus all the advantages of the formal speech might be, and had been in the past, secured without it.

As regards the weekly meetings of the Executive Council, instituted by Sir George Bowen, I had discontinued them, as I found that in most weeks there was nothing to do, and that they thus caused an unnecessary waste of time of the other members as well as my own. These had evidently been the views of Sir George Bowen's predecessors, and I had recurred to their practice, as regards both of the points of inquiry, in the belief that the Secretary of State's despatch conveyed merely permissive sanction for the changes introduced by Sir George Bowen, and not a peremptory order for their observance.

My arguments on the subject appear to have convinced Lord Knutsford, and the old practice as reintroduced by me has, I believe, continued ever since.

While on this subject, I may add, with respect to a Legislative session and its formal opening, I was of opinion that the imitation, which must in any case be a very poor one, of larger communities in the matter of so-called state ceremonies, had already been, if anything, carried too far, and ought certainly not to be carried farther; while as regards weekly meetings of the Executive, it was obvious that in most cases they would only deal with trivial matters, which I considered should be decided on his

own responsibility by the Governor without taking up the time of others.

At the end of November, 1889, our youngest child—a son—was born at Government House, Hong Kong. Of our seven children the four survivors had all come into the world in places widely distant from one another, one having been born in the West Indies, one in Fiji, one in England, and now this one in the Far East.

During the whole of our stay in Hong Kong my wife's interest and attention were much engaged by the excellent work of the sisters of the French and Italian convents in endeavouring to rear the numerous infants left at their doors, many of them in an almost moribund condition. These children, most of whom were females, were the victims of that disregard of individual life which the existence of a dense population disproportionate to the means of subsistence in the course of long ages has rendered characteristic of the Chinese. Such apparent heartlessness with regard to infants is all the more remarkable, as Chinese parents are particularly affectionate to the children which they permit to survive, and seems to indicate that their practice of abandoning to their fate superfluous members of their families is not the outcome of mere selfishness, but is due to a genuine belief that death is a lot more desirable than life for a considerable number of those born into the world, while at the same time rendering less bitter the struggle for existence on the part of the survivors.

In so far as my wife was able to observe, the good sisters made strenuous efforts to save all the infants abandoned to their care, but the greater number were in so exhausted a condition as to render their recovery hopeless.

Chinese indifference to life used to be frequently exemplified in Hong Kong Harbour. I was told that before the Government instituted a reward for life-saving it not uncommonly happened that when a sampan was upset, the occupants of other boats passing made no efforts to save from drowning the people thrown into the water, but calmly

allowed them to perish. This indifference is, however, by no means solely with regard to the lives of others. For, as is well known, when a man is condemned to death, it is by no means difficult to procure a substitute who is willing to undergo execution himself on condition that provision is made for his family.

But in spite of traits which we regard as inhuman and which are the result of centuries of over-population, the Chinaman has many good qualities. Besides his well-known industry, his filial piety and willingness to sacrifice himself for his family, he is extraordinarily scrupulous in the fulfilment of his promise; so much so that I was told by a bank manager that, in his long experience of Chinese, he had never known one who failed in his engagement for the payment of money, and that the word of a Chinaman on such a matter was really as good as his bond. There is, however, this curious anomaly in the Chinese character, that mingled with extreme shrewdness there is an element of ridiculous childishness. Every visitor to China notices that on each side of the bow of nearly all junks there is painted a huge representation of the human eye, and the explanation of this circumstance usually attributed to the native is, "No eye, no can see: no can see, no can savey: no can savey, no can walkey." But this childishness is even better illustrated by a story recently told to me by General Vlangali, then Russian Ambassador to Italy, but formerly for many years Russian Minister at Pekin. The Chinese Emperor—I think the last one—had committed some delinquency which was punishable by law with banishment to Tartary. As it was naturally found inconvenient to attempt the exaction of this punishment, there was devised this substitute for it. The services were procured of the best available artist for painting a portrait of the Emperor, and when this was completed and pronounced a good likeness, the picture was banished to Tartary!! The fact that it had been so dealt with was published in the *Pekin Gazette* and circulated all over the country, as evidence that even

the Son of Heaven was not exempt from obedience to the law!

Towards the end of 1889 my health became so bad that I determined to obtain some months of leave. I did so with special reluctance because of the approaching visit of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, which, in consequence of a special representation made by me to Her Majesty the Queen,[1] was to be a longer one than originally intended. When I made this representation, though my health was far from robust, I had no notion of its immediate breakdown, and was looking forward with special pleasure to the reception of the royal visitors in a colony which would afford them certainly new and, as I hoped, agreeable experiences. But though I was disappointed in this, the duty which I was compelled to forego was doubtless well performed by my *locum tenens*, Mr. Fleming; and, moreover, I had some compensation for the disappointment in the touching reference made by H.R.H. in a public speech to the cause of my absence, and by his gracious recognition of the colony's appreciation of my work.

As the time approached (19th February, 1890) which had been fixed for our departure, the doctor's reports of my condition were such that it became a matter of general doubt whether I should ever be able to return to the colony. I was not aware of this at the time, and so was greatly surprised when I heard of great preparations being made for a "function" by way of approval of my work. In accordance with a numerous and influentially signed request to my wife and myself, before embarking in the steamer which was to carry us away, we went to the St. Andrew's Hall, where we found an enormous crowd of people extending as far as the eye could reach down the principal street. A guard of honour was drawn up in front of the

[1] This representation was to the effect that the colony, which had in so remarkable a manner evinced its loyalty at the time of H.M.'s Jubilee, would be specially gratified if the stay of the Duke and Duchess were prolonged beyond the day originally intended for the visit.

building, and as we approached the band and pipers of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders played "God Save the Queen." Mr. Ryrie, the senior unofficial member of the Legislative Council, received us at the door.

His address, by which the proceedings were opened, was a surprise. Though there had been little opposition to most of my measures, of what there was he had been the leader, and his tone at times had not led me to suppose that he had appreciated my work. He was on this occasion privileged, he said, to present an address signed by every nationality in the place.

"At the present moment," continued the spokesman for the colony, "it bears the largest number of signatures of any I have ever seen in my long experience. You have now been two years and a half with us, and you have in this time mastered the peculiarities of the colony, and it is impossible to overestimate the good work you have done for us here. We had been some time in planning various large works, but somehow or other they did not get on; but when your Excellency arrived you immediately took them up, and they were carried through. We have, in fact, to thank you for the completion of a number of things which were hanging fire when you arrived. . . . As far as legislation goes, I think that the colony has to congratulate itself that we have had you at its head for the last two years." Mentioning briefly then the various improvements which were specified in the address,[1] he, in conclusion,

[1] This address was as follows:—

"We, the undersigned merchants, bankers, professional men, and traders, representing all races and classes in this community, are assembled here to-day, in the first place, to do you honour as the representative of our Sovereign lady the Queen-Empress; in the second place, to acknowledge and thank you heartily for the good work you have done for us and for the colony during your stay among us, and to express to you and Lady des Vœux our extreme regret that the severe labour you have imposed on yourself on our behalf and in our service, and the cares and anxieties of government during the last two critical years, have so seriously affected your health that you have been advised to leave us at so early a period in the term of your government. Your Excellency introduced yourself to us as a man of deeds, not words, and during the two and a half years which have elapsed since then you have fully justified the

referred to my wife, saying that in doing so "words really fail me. During her reign at Government House I am quite sure that every visitor has left there with the feeling that they received most gracious and hospitable treatment. (Loud applause.) The regret of the colony at her absence from it for a time is most heartfelt and sincere."

promise contained in the phrase. You have not only performed most diligently the duties which properly fall to the head of the Executive, but when death, or absence, or illness has left a vacancy in the official ranks—and there have been many such—you have worked double tides in order that the public service might not suffer. But you have not only worked hard, but you have put the crown on your work by bringing many things about which we were almost in despair to a successful termination. Victoria College has been opened after many years of promises unfulfilled. The important question of the Gap Rock Light, after a long period of fruitless negotiations, was taken in hand and brought to a definite settlement by your Excellency's vigour and determination. The troublesome question of praya extension in front of the naval and military reservations, a matter involving so many and conflicting interests, has been finally adjusted or put in the way of an early and satisfactory settlement. The general question of reclamation along the foreshore of the colony, that in other hands would probably have been debated for years, has received from you prompt attention and vigorous treatment, and has been brought to a definite conclusion. The Wong-nei-Chong Valley has been at last filled up and made useful, and the latest suggestions for its improvement have been readily accepted by your Excellency and have been put in train for accomplishment. The constantly recurring difficulties with the Chinese authorities on the subject of extradition have been faced and not evaded, and an important step has been taken towards putting the matter upon a satisfactory basis. Your Excellency yielded at once to the popular demand for greater publicity in the transactions of the Financial Committee of the Council, and you have at all times shown yourself ready and willing to receive and entertain representations made to you, whether in Council or outside, on all subjects of public interest. You have taken these representations into consideration without needless delay, and what we honour you for most, you have never hesitated to surrender your preconceived views or opinions and to admit that you have been in error when those representations have thrown new light upon the subject or brought fresh arguments to bear upon your Excellency's mind. There are still many important questions awaiting settlement. Your Excellency has studied them all more or less, and we hope and pray that you will return to us after a short absence in renewed health and strength to complete the work you have so well begun and reorganise and remodel in many ways the government of the colony.

"We wish your Excellency, Lady Des Vœux, and your children a very pleasant and prosperous voyage home, a hearty welcome on your arrival in England, and a speedy restoration to perfect health. We promise your Excellency on your resumption of this government an enthusiastic reception and our loyal and hearty co-operation."

The Chinese, though they had in large numbers joined the Europeans in signing this address, had also prepared one expressing specifically their own point of view. This was now presented by Mr. Ho-Kai, whom, on the resignation of another Chinese, had on my nomination been appointed by the Queen to the Legislative Council. This gentleman had been educated in England and had there obtained a medical degree. He had married a European wife, and at her death had been the principal founder of a hospital named after her as the "Alice Memorial," which was intended for the treatment of Chinese patients after the methods of European science. In presenting the address Mr. Ho-Kai made a speech in which he on behalf of all the Chinese inhabitants strongly emphasised the previous compliments, making the remark that—"On occasions like the present your Excellency is probably aware that there is often a great deal of conventionality and sometimes almost insincerity, but I can assure you that on the present occasion there is nothing of the kind."

The address was a very long one, abounding in the hyperbolic compliment which is characteristically Chinese, such as—

"Your Excellency in the short period of your government has performed many acts of kindness and benevolence—so many that it is impossible to enumerate them all."

What, however, I took to be the expression of more completely genuine feeling was the statement—

"Your Excellency, bearing in mind that Hong Kong has a large Chinese population, has constantly consulted the Chinese community before enacting new laws or amending old ones. You have made no class distinctions, and our humble opinions were frequently asked for and followed. Consequently your Excellency was always in touch with the feelings of the majority of the people under your government, the happy result of which was that the residents lived happily together and crime was diminished."

Also probably in the same category was the following :—

"The volume of trade carried on by the Chinese is very considerable, but for all that they had not a Chamber of Commerce of their own or any place for their merchants to meet in and form some kind of association. Your Excellency took the matter up and granted us a long lease of a suitable site for a Chamber of Commerce. When the building is completed we hope . . . . that it will prove to be a help to the Government in their endeavour to ascertain Chinese views and feelings. For this one deed, even if it stood alone, our gratitude is beyond expression."[1]

I had come to the meeting feeling so ill that I feared I should be unequal to any due acknowledgment of the addresses to which I had been unable to make a prepared reply. But excitement happily carried me through the day.

After touching upon other points referred to in the addresses, I said: "At the risk of introducing a crumpled leaf into the bed of roses which you have been good enough to prepare for me, I must take exception to one expression. You say you hope to see me return to remodel and reorganise the government of the colony, and I should be dishonest if I went away appearing by my silence to be promising you anything of the kind. It has often been said that the prosperity of this colony is entirely due to merchants and others who have come here and made it what it is." But, as I proceeded to point out, in justice to my predecessors, the Government was, to say the least, entitled to some share of the credit, and that Government could not have been on the whole a bad one, or such prosperity would not have been possible. Continuing, I said that while I could make no such promise, I earnestly hoped to return, and to be in other respects of further service to the Colony.

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"I can assure you I leave only under the pressure of necessity. I came here under adverse circumstances suffering

[1] This address was afterwards sent to me beautifully embroidered on silk (9 ft. by 3 ft.) with a border of bright flowers and gorgeous birds, also in fine embroidery.

from a severe accident, the effects of which were hardly over when the climate began to tell upon me. I have made a struggle to continue here up to this time, and it is only under the strong advice of my medical advisers that I am now obliged to give way.

* * * * *

"As regards my wife, I can only say that Mr. Ryrie's kind words and your enthusiastic reception of them have touched me deeply. Nobody knows better than I do how enormously the assistance of a good wife tends towards success in government. I only regret that her health also has been such as to prevent her from doing much which she desired to do. We both, I assure you, leave our hearts behind us here, especially after this day's demonstration. I saw an intimation in one of the papers of a possible desire on my part to seek a change to a more temperate climate. I have no such desire. It would be a deep disappointment to me if any permanent duty should prevent my return to this colony. My wife also reciprocates this sentiment, and is determined, if I come back, to accompany me."

I was somewhat apprehensive that my repudiation of any intention to reorganise the government of the colony might meet with some murmuring; but to my surprise, I suppose because straightforwardness was appreciated, my remarks on this subject were greeted with no less cheering than the others.

We went straight from the hall to the wharf where we were to embark. An enormous crowd lined the streets the whole way, requiring the whole police force to keep it in order. As the launch left the wharf the cheering was continuous and so loud as almost to drown the boom of the salute. The members of Council and a large number of public officers and others came on board the *Caledonien* to see the last of us, and so we steamed away. "The whole proceedings from start to finish," said *The Daily Press*, "were the most unanimously enthusiastic that have, perhaps, ever been witnessed in Hong Kong."

Our voyage to Marseilles, by Singapore, Colombo, and the Suez Canal, came near having a disastrous ending. For as we approached Marseilles at night in hazy weather, the late Captain Sir William Wiseman and a Russian naval captain, who were walking together on deck, suddenly saw the lighthouse on the wrong side of us. They at once rushed to the bridge, where the danger had apparently not been observed, and the course of the ship was altered just in time. But for this, as they both informed me, we should in the course of a very few minutes have been on the rocks.

On arrival in England we, to our great regret, parted with John St. Aubyn,[1] who, during the year for which he had come to me as A.D.C., had proved to be an exceptionally able one, as popular with the colonists as he was agreeable in the household. We spent the first weeks at Eastbourne, the air of which was specially recommended to us by our doctors. There we were much indebted to the thoughtful kindness of the sister of an old Balliol friend, the late Miss Charlotte Ellis, who had a pretty villa and grounds on the outskirts of the town. I spent much time at first in her garden, where I had the benefit of the sea-air without suffering from the wind, which was found to be somewhat trying. Miss Ellis had been round the world with her mother, the late Lady Howard de Walden, and had made collections of curios in China and Japan; so that we found many subjects of common interest.

When I felt sufficiently well to appear at the Colonial Office, Lord Knutsford intimated to me his satisfaction with my work in Hong Kong and said he would have liked to make some recognition of it, but unfortunately he had no G.C.M.G. at disposal, all the vacancies having been filled by the recently appointed Australian Governors. He then promised to recommend me to Lord Salisbury for a K.C.B., but from that day to this I have never heard further on the subject.

[1] Captain the Hon. J. St. Aubyn, now Lieutenant-Colonel Grenadier Guards.

Completely as some of the Governors referred to justified subsequently their anticipatory honours, I confess that it struck me as hard nevertheless that the claims of officers who deserved recognition should have been set aside in favour of men who came in at the eleventh hour and had done no colonial service at all. The position of an Australian Governor is one of sufficient dignity to render unnecessary any decorative addition to it; and I cannot suppose that the Australian statesmen who receive these honours would regard their value as enhanced by their being granted to those, however high in rank, who have as yet done nothing whatever to deserve them.

One evening, during this summer, at Sir John Pender's in Arlington Street, I had the honour of being presented to the King of the Belgians. His Majesty was anxious to know my opinion as to the prospect of obtaining Chinese labour for the Congo Free State. I said that the enterprises, whether of agriculture or manufacture, must be very remunerative to cover the cost of taking Chinese to such a distance from home and to pay them wages at a rate which would tempt them to go. For agricultural purposes, moreover, I doubted whether these labourers would be found satisfactory, except possibly under some system by which they would have a direct interest in the result of their work. In any case I did not think that the Hong Kong Government, in view of the terrible results of the Chinese emigration from Macao to Peru, would take the responsibility of countenancing the recruitment of labourers for such a purpose without requiring conditions, unlikely to be acceptable, for securing their good treatment. Any scheme with this object would therefore probably require to be prosecuted at a Chinese port and receive the sanction of the Chinese Government. I fear that my views did not please His Majesty; but this was a matter on which it was incumbent upon me to speak frankly.

During the summer my health much improved, especially in the bracing air of North Berwick. Though the attacks still continued, they came at longer intervals, and I began

to hope that I should get rid of them. But unfortunately a fall brought back my old spinal trouble, and being thus deprived of exercise, I had early in October a serious relapse. However, I was anxious to get back to Hong Kong, so as not to lose the cool season, and as by the end of November I was sufficiently better to warrant Sir Andrew Clarke in permitting me to make the experiment of going out again, I left England with my family in the P. and O. s.s. *Coromandel* towards the end of that month.

On the voyage out a short stay at Naples permitted of another visit to Pompeii. At Aden we had a third time the opportunity of witnessing the wonderful diving powers of the natives, and of comparing it with the similar performances of the Hawaiians which we had twice seen at Honolulu. In both places small coins thrown from the ship were recovered by swimmers from unknown depths: but the feat was not attempted here which we had seen successfully achieved at Honolulu, of diving under the vessel and securing a piece thrown out on the side opposite to that on which the diver was swimming.

CHAPTER VII

Addition to Government House—Jubilee of Colony—Tsarewitch's approaching visit—Importance of precedence in China—Incident at review—Arrival of Tsarewitch; anxiety about guarding him; my visit to him and his reception at Government House; his private visit on hearing of my illness—Resign Governorship on account of ill-health—Wonderful recovery of prisoner certified as dying—Oppose appointment of Chinese Consul—Sunday labour in harbour; the question satisfactorily settled—Increased military contribution: difference with Legislative Council—Combat lugubrious view of colony's prospects—Marriage *in extremis*.

DURING our absence the new annexe to Government House had been begun and finished, and was now ready for the celebration of the jubilee of the colony. Among other features of this celebration we gave a fancy ball, to which some four hundred came. The affair was pronounced highly successful, the new rooms aiding materially to make it so. Shortly before the celebration I accidentally discovered that my half-brother Frederick[1] had been a midshipman on the flagship *Cornwallis*, on board of which the cession of Hong Kong had been signed; and it was a curious coincidence that I, as Governor of the colony, should be assisting in the celebration of its fiftieth anniversary.

The most important social event of this period was the visit of the Tsarewitch. In anticipation of this visit I had

[1] Frederick was afterwards appointed to be mate of the *Erebus*, Sir John Franklin's ship, which with the *Terror*, under Captain Crozier, composed the ill-fated expedition to the Arctic regions. He was gazetted as lieutenant shortly after leaving England, but never heard of his promotion. As all the officers of this expedition were, I believe, selected from some hundreds of candidates, he must have been regarded as of special promise. The last record of the expedition, a facsimile of which appears in Admiral M'Clintock's book, was signed by him. I venture to think that under the circumstances it is by no means creditable that his name should be wrongly spelt ("æ" for "œ") upon the Franklin monument in Waterloo Place.

New Wing

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, HONG KONG

received telegrams from Lord Knutsford on the subject of his reception, by which I was instructed to pay the first visit to him, and when he came on shore to give him the right-hand seat in the carriage. I was glad to be thus freed from responsibility on the subject, as otherwise I should have felt bound to follow the rule, up to that time, I believe, universally observed, under which the Governor of a colony, as representing his Sovereign, gives precedence to no one, Royalty not excepted. No doubt there were special reasons for the change on this occasion, but the precedent thus set is not altogether free from objection. With the Chinese matters of precedence have special significance, and they know quite well the forms by which it is conceded. Consequently when they see the Governor, who is to them the principal representative of England, giving precedence to another, they are apt to infer that the country of that other is regarded as superior. In most colonies such an impression would be of no importance; but it is not so in Hong Kong, where, owing to its being continually visited by people from all parts of China, it is especially desirable that English "prestige" should be preserved.

The importance attached by the Chinese to such matters was illustrated by an incident which occurred about this time. The Chinese principal squadron being on its annual winter visit to Hong Kong, Admiral Ting, when dining with me, remarked that he had never seen a review of purely English troops, and would much like to do so. It happened that a review of the Hong Kong garrison was to take place within a few days; so I thereupon promised to give him an opportunity of seeing it.

On the day appointed for this review Admiral Ting, having been apprised of it, greeted me at the saluting flag, dressed in his yellow jacket, together with the whole gorgeous array of a first-class mandarin. As the troops were approaching, the Admiral moved somewhat in front of me. He did this in such a way as to lead me to believe that the act was simply due to excitement in witnessing a

novel spectacle. And so, without saying anything, I quietly moved myself slightly in front of him. Becoming apparently more excited, he again advanced, and I, still patient, repeated my former movement. When, however, for the third time he used the same manœuvre, we now having advanced some yards from the proper position, I at once divined that his action was not one of unconscious discourtesy, but of deliberate design. The Chinese have always, and in various ways, endeavoured to cultivate the impression that England holds Hong Kong only by the favour of the Emperor of China; and the Admiral, in his conspicuously Chinese dress, evidently thought the occasion a favourable one for strengthening this impression by causing the many thousands of Chinamen present to believe that the troops were saluting him rather than the Governor. This was clearly not to be permitted, and as the front ranks were now close at hand, I said in a courteous, and at the same time determined voice to him, "Would you be kind enough to stand back?" making a movement of my hand to show clearly what was desired. Whether he understood the English words or not I do not know, but he at once complied, and I, standing where I was, received the different salutes in due form.

I am glad to say that this incident made no difference in my relations with Admiral Ting. If anything, they became even more cordial, for I recognised that his intention had been merely patriotic; and he probably gave me similar credit. Some days afterwards, on his farewell visit, he presented me with a large "celadon" bowl, which he believed to be a thousand years old, expressing in warm terms his appreciation of our hospitality and his regret that different customs prevented him from returning it in kind.

Notwithstanding his rough manner, I had a great liking for Ting, and was sincerely sorry to say "good-bye," which, as I told him, was likely to be for the last time. A few years afterwards, in the Chino-Japanese War, Admiral Ting

put an end to his own life rather than survive the disgrace of the battle of the Yalu. His heroic bravery on that occasion, which was only in accord with his previous repute, could avail little against an enemy, equally brave, and at the same time armed with a naval skill and experience which he did not possess—honour be to his memory!

With regard to the expected visit of the Tsarewitch, I inquired privately from the Russian Admiral, with whom I had fortunately made acquaintance previously, as to various matters likely to be conducive to the comfort of our distinguished visitor. Much to my regret, I learnt that during his stay in China it was arranged that he should pass all his nights on board. There was, however, an important question to be decided as to the extent of the guard to be accorded to a personage of such importance. It seemed to me, upon reflection, that anyone who should contemplate the assassination of the Tsarewitch in a place like Hong Kong must be absolutely indifferent to his own life, well aware that there would be no means of escape after the deed had been committed. Against such a desperado the utmost precautions we could take would be of little avail, while they would go far to destroy the pleasure of the visit by rendering impossible the visitor's privacy. On the whole, therefore, I determined to provide guards and mounted escorts for the Prince when he came ashore officially, and to leave to his own choice whether he should be "shadowed" while he was seeing the sights and might wish to remain incognito.

There had been collected in the harbour, in anticipation of the arrival of the Russian squadron, not only a dozen or more of warships flying the white ensign of Great Britain, but others of France, Germany, Portugal, and Japan, besides the four heavily armed Chinese cruisers under the command of Admiral Ting. Consequently on the day of the Tsarewitch's arrival the amount of cannonading was greater even than I had heard on previous occasions, the number of guns fired exceeding four hundred and fifty.

I paid my official visit to the Tsarewitch upon the Russian Admiral's ship according to instructions. My reception was so much more gracious than I had expected for so formal an occasion, that I imagined some pleasant things must have been said by the Grand Duke Alexander about his visit to Hong Kong. All possible courtesy was shown me by the Russian officers, and a salute was fired as my launch left the ship.

Shortly after this visit I drove down to the wharf to receive H.I.H. on his landing for the return visit. After he had inspected the guard of honour, he came with me in my carriage to Government House, an escort of Sikh Mounted Police preceding and following.

H.R.H. Prince George of Greece, Prince Bariatinski (the Tsarewitch's governor), and the rest of the party, all in full uniform, followed in chairs, the usual and best means of locomotion on the heavy gradients of Hong Kong roads.[1] My wife received the distinguished visitors, Mrs. Farquhar being with her, at the top of the flight of steps at the entrance, the Tsarewitch, according to the foreign custom (the almost complete disappearance of which in England is, I think, much to be regretted), courteously kissing her offered hand. The party stayed more than an hour, and while most of the suite were engaged with refreshments (which, in Russia, are always hospitably provided for callers), the Tsarewitch accompanied us to the roof to see the magnificent view which is thence obtainable. With this he was greatly delighted, and he derived much amusement from watching through a high-power telescope the doings upon his ship, some half a mile away, especially the gambols of two small elephants which had been given to him at Bangkok. In the course of conversation he ex-

[1] Mrs. Ernest Farquhar, who with her husband was staying with us at the time, mentions in her diary, with notes from which she has been kind enough to supply me: "We watched the procession as it wound its way up the hill. The gorgeous uniforms of the Russian officers and the scarlet liveries of the Governor's chair coolies, contrasting with the greens of the tropical vegetation, made a very striking effect."

pressed great surprise at the appearance and climate of Hong Kong—it happened to be specially cool weather—as he had expected it to be a hot, bare rock like Aden. After discussing with him the question of guards or no guards, he, as I expected, expressed an emphatic wish to be permitted to go about incognito without any supervision of his movements; and not, I confess, without a certain trepidation, I promised compliance. And while on this subject I may mention that he took full advantage of the liberty thus accorded, being seen by some of my household making purchases in shops and going about in a rickshaw; and I even heard that H.I.H. had luncheon at a restaurant on the Peak, being nowhere recognised except by some of those who had seen him at Government House.

In taking H.I.H. back to the wharf one of the outriders came suddenly too close to the carriage. The Tsarewitch gave a little start, but immediately recovering himself, addressed the man, an old Sikh, some kindly words in Hindustanee, which caused him to beam with pleasure.

All this occurred on Saturday, April 4th. On Monday the 6th, H.I.H. and his personal suite having gone on a visit to Canton, I took advantage of the opportunity to ask to dinner the Russian Admiral, his staff, and several other Russian officers; the English Admiral (Richards) and the General (Barker) with others coming to meet them. In the afternoon, however, for the fourth time within the fortnight, I was seized with one of the heart attacks from which I had been suffering during the previous eighteen months, and was entirely incapable of appearing at dinner. Under the circumstances Admiral Richards kindly assisted my wife by taking my place as host.

On the 7th H.I.H. returned from Canton, and as the Russian fleet was to leave at nine the next morning, I thought I had seen the last of our Imperial guest. In this, however, I was agreeably disappointed. For hearing of my illness he postponed his departure until the afternoon, and

appeared quite unexpectedly at Government House, accompanied by Prince George of Greece and attended by Prince Bariatinski and an A.D.C. The whole party were in plain clothes—the Tsarewitch wearing a "billycock" hat and tan shoes; and I have been since told, on good authority, that a *sans-façon* visit of this kind is very unusual with Russians under such circumstances, and was intended as a special compliment. H.I.H. inquired most kindly after my health, and expressed the great delight he had experienced from his visit to Hong Kong, with special appreciation of his having been left alone to do as he pleased. The party remained for fully an hour, and I had a conversation with H.I.H. which so much impressed[1] me with his kindly disposition, that I was not at all surprised by his effort in after years to put an end to war by arbitration. He seemed as yet too young to fully realise the grave responsibilities which he would have to face in the future; but that he had some idea of them may be gathered from the fact that when I expressed a hope that the relations between my country and his would always remain friendly, he reciprocated with quite unexpected warmth. Altogether his demeanour to us (including our little girl) was such as to make us really sorry to say "Good-bye," and this all the more because in all probability we should never see again one who, entirely apart from his position, struck us as a particularly attractive personality.

In more than one gracious communication which he has caused to be conveyed to me since he became Emperor, our principal guest on this occasion has mentioned his agreeable recollections of Hong Kong; and I have good reason for knowing that the strong expressions of H.I.H. and his entourage with regard to the exceptional pleasure afforded by their visits to us were the outcome of genuine

[1] Among other circumstances which produced this impression was the specially affectionate tone in which the Tsarewitch spoke of his mother, the Tsarina, when I happened to mention the great popularity in England of her sister, the Princess of Wales.

feeling and not the mere conventional assurances usual on such occasions.

My failure to appear at the Russian dinner-party, as above mentioned, this occasion being only the last of several on which I had been compelled to break engagements, caused me to consider seriously whether in justice either to the colony or to my family, I ought to continue in office. The Secretary of State would hardly have refused to grant me another chance to recover sufficient health for a return to work; but the doctors were decidedly of opinion that there was no prospect of such recovery within any reasonable period of leave. And so, being strongly of opinion that the colony would suffer by the absence of a permanent Governor, I felt reluctantly compelled to offer my resignation of office, more than two and a half years before the expiration of the ordinary term of six years. It was, needless to say, a very severe disappointment that a career which had been so far unusually successful should have been thus prematurely brought to a close. It had been for some years the object of my ambition to obtain the government of one of the Indian provinces or of the Cape of Good Hope, the latter having for me special attractions on account of its difficulty. But fate ordered otherwise, and had to be borne with equanimity.

Immediately after my return to Hong Kong a case occurred which illustrates a form of responsibility sometimes incurred by a Governor of a different kind from any hitherto described The editor of a local journal had, during my absence in England, been convicted of an exceedingly gross libel and had been sentenced by the Supreme Court to six months' imprisonment. The unscrupulousness of his personal attacks had been such that he had (to use a slang expression for which there is no exact equivalent) "established a funk" in the community. And so, as he was almost universally disliked, I can only imagine that it was fear of what he might do when he became free again which induced a large number of the leading people to sign a

petition praying for his release from gaol on the ground that further imprisonment was injurious to his health. This petition having been presented to Mr. Fleming, my *locum tenens*, he referred it for the opinion of a Medical Board, consisting of the chief medical officers of the Navy, Army, and Civil Service. The report of this Commission, which awaited my arrival, was to the effect that prolongation of the man's imprisonment would be dangerous to his health. After having referred back the report in order to clear up the ambiguity in the word "prolongation," I learnt that the meaning intended was "any further retention." Though, as was well known, the prisoner had been for years suffering from a pulmonary complaint, I had doubts, as it proved with good reason, whether he was as ill as represented; while articles which continued to appear in his newspaper bore so strong an impress of his peculiar style that I had suspicions of his having written them. Subsequent discoveries left me little doubt that this was the case, and that, by corrupting one of the servants of the gaol hospital, he had been permitted to write and to obtain the transmission of what he wrote to his agents outside. But however this may have been, rather from instinct than from any more solid ground, I felt convinced that the opinion was mistaken as to any special danger to the man from the imprisonment which he had so richly deserved. I had, moreover, no doubt that so early a release of such a man would have a serious effect on the community and would render no man's reputation safe. On the whole, therefore, I determined to take the serious responsibility of disregarding the report of the Medical Board. Some weeks passed, when without any previous warning, I received a report from the chief civil medical officer and the surgeon of the gaol that the man was dying, and at the same time a petition came to me from his relatives that I would permit his release in order that he might be buried by his friends.

Though for reasons which I am unable to specify here I

was still sceptical about the gravity of the man's condition, such a report left no opening for further resistance. Indeed, Lord Connemara, who happened to be staying with me at the time, told me that, had such a report as the first one from the Medical Board been received by him when he was Governor of Madras, he would have been bound by instruction to release the prisoner.

And so, after taking a night for reflection, I, not without considerable reluctance, ordered the man's discharge. And now comes the remarkable sequel to this incident. Within a week after the date of my order of discharge, there was a race-meeting, which I attended, when, even to *my* surprise, there appeared in front of my box, talking gaily and apparently engaged in betting, the very man who had been reported as dying, and who, to justify the medical opinion, ought by that time to have been in his grave. I did not call upon the medical officers for explanation, as I knew that that would be useless. They would, of course, have said that, had he remained in gaol, he would have died; and no one, whatever his doubts, could possibly say with certainty that he would not. In the event the man lived for several years afterwards. The only satisfactory subject of recollection in connection with this case was the touching letter received by my wife from the unfortunate wife of the prisoner after his release, in which warmest thanks were expressed for continual kindness and sympathy during a time of severe trial.

It was also, I think, shortly after my return from England that I received official intimation that Her Majesty's Government were contemplating compliance with the demand of the Chinese Government for permission to appoint a Consul to be resident in Hong Kong. Such a demand had more than once been made previously, on the last occasion during the administration of Sir Richard Graves Macdonnell, who had strenuously and successfully opposed it on the ground that such an appointment, while unnecessary for any legitimate purpose, would be opposed to the interests of all the

inhabitants of the colony, European as well as Chinese. I quickly learnt that such sentiments were still equally prevalent, and held even more strongly than before. For there was resident in Hong Kong, though his office was nominally at a short distance from it in Chinese territory, an officer of the Chinese Maritime Customs, who was well able to discharge all the legitimate functions of a Consul. Though even his presence was not liked, it was tolerated because he was a European who was unlikely to lend himself to the sinister designs which, according to the general belief, furnished the chief real object for the employment of a Chinese Consul. The very suggestion of the appointment of such an official caused evident terror among the Chinese who had acquired wealth in the colony. For they believed that his principal employment would be to ascertain the means possessed by each, with a view to "squeeze" his relatives resident on the mainland; and I have little doubt that had such an appointment been made, there would have been a considerable exodus on the part of Chinese merchants and traders to places of greater security, thus causing a very serious loss to the colony. This fear was almost equally shared by the leading European inhabitants with whom I conversed on the subject; and so I was not long in coming to the determination, which I at once put into execution, to make a vigorous protest against such an appointment. My arguments seemed at first to have been without avail; for I was informed that Her Majesty's Government would permit the appointment notwithstanding. I was glad, however, to hear after my retirement that the more prudent course was followed, and the appointment was never made.

A question of some importance—that respecting Sunday labour in the harbour—was at this time brought to a satisfactory settlement. This subject had been pressed upon my attention during the first year of my administration; but after full consideration of the subject, I gave my reasons in Council why I was then unable to see my way to any relief of the persons aggrieved. The freedom from Sunday

labour in other ports was effected by the closing of the Custom Houses on that day; but as in Hong Kong there was no Custom House, the desired object could only be attained by special legislation. Such a law, applied to European vessels exclusively, would give a great advantage to Chinese vessels and junks; but supposing it were made applicable to all vessels, a similar prohibition must be applied to the land. For it would be absurd and unjust to send people to gaol for working in the harbour when they might do so with impunity on shore. To prohibit all out-of-door work on Sundays would have a very bad effect upon the Chinese. Except upon their own holidays, which they would continue to observe, the great majority of Chinese work to the utmost of their strength the whole seven days of the week, and no one having experience of them would believe in the possibility of their making up in the six days for the lost labour of the seventh. Thus while such a law would cause a serious loss of wealth to the community, the Chinese would be deprived of one-seventh of their scanty wages. But even greater harm would be done in another way. The Chinese having no respect for the Christian Sunday, would, if prevented from working on that day, inevitably spend it in gambling, opium-smoking, or other even less desirable occupations—the result being, I anticipated, a considerable increase of crime. And there would also be an even more harmful general effect. Work being regarded by the Chinese as highly honourable, to be punished for doing it would be deeply resented as injustice, and would render them comparatively indifferent about the commission of real crimes, which would be visited with no greater penalties.

Having, however, much sympathy with European sailors, whose life in Chinese waters is an especially hard one, and who, getting no day's rest in Hong Kong, were sometimes months without getting any remission of hard work, I kept the matter in mind in the hope of hitting upon some plan which would afford them relief without having the undesir-

able consequences above referred to. Such a plan at length occurred to me, and during my last month in Hong Kong I was fortunately able to pass an ordinance giving it legal sanction. According to this law, which, I believe, is still in force, work in the harbour is prohibited except upon vessels for which special licences have been obtained, the scale of fees being sufficiently high to check ordinary work, and yet not high enough to prevent the despatch of vessels, such as mail steamers, the delay of which is specially inconvenient. Fines for breaches of this law were to fall not upon the labourers, but upon their employers.

In mentioning my part in this law I must guard myself from the suspicion that I have any sympathy with the Sabbatarian spirit which would forbid not only all work, but even innocent amusement upon Sunday. If the so-called Law of Moses be still binding upon us—and that would indeed have singular consequences—then of course Saturday is the day which ought to be observed. For the special observance of Sunday there is no plausible pretence for any other than human authority; while, even as regards the Saturday Sabbath, the only reference to it by the Founder of Christianity was for the purpose of authorising a relaxation of its strict observance. In any case I cannot see that we have any moral right to enforce the observance of Sunday upon people who are not Christians, and for this reason I by no means approved of an instruction received from Lord Knutsford to the effect that no work should be done on that day under Government contracts. For this would certainly cause Government work to be considerably dearer than private work, and besides having no beneficial effect, would have the harmful one above described.

Towards the close of my career in Hong Kong I had a serious difference with the unofficial members of the Legislative Council, which was caused by the action of the home Government. During my absence in 1890 a despatch had been received from Lord Knutsford making a demand for a largely increased military contribution (£40,000 in place

of £20,000 a year). This despatch contained an able, and on the whole convincing, statement of reasons why under already existing circumstances such a demand was a fair one.

Unfortunately, however, by way of strengthening its arguments, there was promised an increase of the garrison to the extent of more than a thousand men. When therefore the vote for the additional contribution was brought before the Council by my *locum tenens*, the members, while voting for it unanimously, fastened upon this promise, and resolutions were passed, in which the Acting Governor concurred, to the effect that as unanimity upon this vote had been obtained principally, if not entirely, because of the proposed increase of the garrison, it was the hope of the Council that the additional contribution would not be required until such increase was effected. The meeting of Council at which this occurred took place on the 28th March, 1890, but when I arrived in the colony in December the additional contribution had not been paid. Shortly afterwards I received a telegram from Lord Knutsford demanding the immediate payment of the whole sum voted, so that it might appear in the accounts of the English financial year, and this though the strength of the garrison had been in no way increased—indeed, had been slightly diminished.

At the moment when this telegram arrived I happened to be in a condition which rendered my attendance at Council impossible; and yet, the end of the Hong Kong financial year having passed, the sum demanded would require to be revoted. Mr. Fleming, the Colonial Secretary, who would have to preside in Council in my absence, was in a peculiarly difficult position with regard to such a revote, as he had while Acting Governor given his support to the resolutions, which were practically a rider to the original vote. For my part, though regarding as very unfortunate the non-fulfilment of an implied promise, I was strongly of opinion that, independently of such promise, the amount asked for was not more than the colony ought to pay. On

many previous occasions I had shown that I was not prepared without remonstrance to submit tamely to the views of higher authority which I believed to be wrong, but in this case I believed the home Government to be in the right, and I therefore determined to propose a revote which would be free from any condition. Under the circumstances it was probably my duty to instruct Mr. Fleming to hold a meeting of Council in my absence and to propose and carry the required resolution, if necessary, by the majority of official votes. But seeing that he naturally did not like the task, out of consideration for him I determined to undertake it myself as soon as I had sufficiently recovered. But as that might be only after a considerable interval and the money was required to be paid immediately, I wrote an order upon the Treasury for the payment of the extra £20,000 in anticipation of the revote which it was at any time within the power of the Executive to pass.

When the necessary meeting of Council was held, my part was by no means a pleasant one. The correspondence published between the Colonial and War Offices showed that while Lord Knutsford had in the first instance supported the view of the Council that the additional payment ought to be required only when the garrison had been actually increased, he had very quickly given way, and had then taken his stand, as it was unfortunate he had not done at first, upon grounds independent of the question of increase. The members regarded this as a desertion of their cause by one who, in consequence of his implied promise and his own expressed view, ought to have continued a strenuous defence of it. It seemed, moreover, that Lord Knutsford was apprehensive that the additional vote would cause financial difficulty, as a telegram had been received from him which, without explanation, forbade the commencement of any new public works; while to add to the irritation thus caused there was the fact, which had become known, that the amount to be revoted had already been paid. Consequently I was not

at all surprised that the tone of the unofficial members in opposing the vote was somewhat acrimonious. Strong speeches were made denouncing the injustice of obtaining a vote upon an implied promise and then requiring payment of the money when that promise had in no way been fulfilled. In order to save the official members from the unpopularity they would have incurred by reply, I undertook myself the whole burthen of defending the vote. In the course of a long speech touching upon all the points adduced by the opposition, I pointed out in detail that the additional contribution was such as in fairness to the British taxpayer the colony ought to pay, whether the garrison was increased or not, and that Lord Knutsford's implied promise was in fact supererogatory. And I added with regard to this promise that, though at the moment unfulfilled, it was in process of being carried out, and I had not the least doubt would shortly be fulfilled to the letter.

The unofficial members were, however, not in a temper to be convinced; and I was reluctantly compelled to pass the resolution by the votes of the officials.

Before adopting the course above indicated, I confess that I was strongly tempted to take a different line, and to say, as I believe other Governors did under similar circumstances, that whatever might be my own opinion of the matter, the payment of the money had been ordered by the Secretary of State, and the proposal of the revote was therefore a necessity. But I was influenced in the contrary direction by another consideration. The feeling against Crown Government, always dormant, had in consequence of this incident become active and strong; and it was therefore specially desirable to avoid accentuating discontent by advocating a measure simply because that was the will of the home Government, and without giving public explanation of the reasonableness of the demand. And so I felt impelled by duty to take the unpopular course. But had I been able to anticipate how little my action would be

appreciated at home, my temptation in the other direction might perhaps have been too strong to resist.

An immediate consequence of the bitter feeling created by this vote was a motion made in Council by Mr. Whitehead, the protagonist of the unofficial members, on the subject of official salaries. During my absence at the end of the previous year the Council had unanimously recommended a large increase in all official salaries in order to compensate for the fall in the value of the dollars in which they were paid. Since then there had supervened a certain commercial depression, entirely caused by the loss of large sums of money in mining ventures. Of this circumstance Mr. Whitehead made full use, and painting a most gloomy picture of the prospects of the colony, with emphatic reference to the increased military contribution as having to be met by a falling revenue, he urged that, in view of the altered circumstances, the colony was not in a position to pay the increased salaries as voted in the previous year.

I was too unwell to be present at the meeting of Council when this resolution was proposed, and defeated only by the official majority. But on reading Mr. Whitehead's speech I was so much surprised by some of its statements that I at once instigated inquiries into their correctness. The preparation of the necessary figures by several different departments occupied some days; but in the meantime the unofficial members of Council had written me a letter which would have been highly objectionable at any time, but was especially so in view of the fact that, as generally known, I had some days previously been compelled by broken health to resign the government of the colony. One of them, Mr. Keswick, the principal resident partner of the great firm of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson and Company, frankly and honourably acknowledged afterwards that he had signed this letter without sufficient consideration, and expressing great regret for having done so, desired that his name might be withdrawn from it; while the others regretted and withdrew any disrespectful meaning which might

be assigned to their words. In view of this amende I make no further reference to an episode which cast a shadow upon some of my last days in Hong Kong.

After obtaining the statistics necessary to throw a light upon the commercial and financial condition of the colony, I at once gathered from them that Mr. Whitehead's lugubrious picture of depression was largely imaginative. Much money had no doubt been lost in foreign enterprises, and there had in consequence been a great fall in speculative shares; but the regular trade of the colony was evidently sound, while the financial outlook gave no cause for apprehension. Before leaving the colony, therefore, I employed such strength as I had left in preparing a long statement in the form of a speech dealing with this subject in detail on the strength of the statistics received, and dissipating the incorrect impression which had been given by looking at the question from only one side. I expressed the opinion, which proved to be correct, that such depression as existed was only temporary, giving reasons for believing that the bubble of speculation having burst, the regular commerce of the colony would in a short time fully retrieve the position, and in all probability bring about a prosperity greater than any of the past. In any case the state of the finances was by no means such as would justify such an act of injustice to public officers as would be involved in withholding from them, at least for that year, the increase of salaries which had been generally regarded as their due, and on the certain prospect of which they had had reason to count. Supposing the pessimistic views of the future should prove correct, the salaries might be lowered again, as had been frequently done under financial pressure in other colonies. Though this would of course be hard upon the officers, the possibility would be foreshadowed, and there would be no breach of a moral contract with them by the rescission of votes passed by the Council in their favour.

In addition to other troubles which occurred before

leaving the colony, I had a disagreeable correspondence with the Roman Catholic Bishop on the subject of marriage *in extremis*, or, as he termed it, *in articulo mortis*, the same subject which had proved to be a bone of contention years before in St. Lucia. In reply to my temperate exposition of the law on the subject he informed me that in a fitting case he would marry the parties, licence or no licence, prohibition or no prohibition. In my final minute, after expressing my regret at the spirit of defiance of law evinced by his letter, I informed him that all consideration would be given to his representations, but if, pending a decision, the law should be deliberately broken, he must be prepared for the penal consequences.

CHAPTER VIII

Addresses on my departure—Leave Hong Kong—Japan: Nikko and its beauty—A Tokio hotel—Cross Pacific eastward—Prince George of Greece—Lake Tahoe in California—Manitou springs—Ascent of Pike's Peak—Denver—London, Canada—Ringwood, New Jersey—England again—My singular treatment on arrival—Governors' pensions—Last interview with Mr. Gladstone—Invested by H.M. Queen Victoria with G.C.M.G.—As President of Engadine Golf Club receive H.R.H. the Duchess of Teck—Critical illness at Samaden—Seven years of ill-health and final recovery—Conclusion.

ALTHOUGH, owing to exhaustion, I let it be known that I was unable at my departure to undergo another public function of leave-taking, I consented to receive at Government House two addresses, which, as coming from public officers, could not be properly made except to a Governor who was taking a final departure from the colony.

The first of these was from the officers of the Education Department, and was presented by Dr. Eitel, the Inspector of Schools, as representing the unanimous feeling of all the officers of the department. It expressed "unfeigned gratitude for the memorable improvements which your Excellency has originated in the educational system of the colony," and with reference to changes, regarded as beneficial, which it had been my good fortune to be able to effect, but which want of space has precluded me from previously touching upon in my narrative, proceeded as follows:—

"By the conversion of the aided schools in the villages into Government schools, your Excellency has not only placed elementary education, free of any school fee, within reach of the whole village population, and provided the means of raising the standard of the teaching in those schools, but removed thereby a patent flaw in the educational system of the colony, which,

before your Excellency's arrival, whilst offering cheap education for the middle classes, had left the poorest classes in the villages under a heavy burthen of school fees, and their teachers in a condition of abject poverty. By the opening of the Government Central School for Girls, which your Excellency courageously resolved upon in spite of influential opposition and popular prejudice, your Excellency has furnished the Eurasian female population of the colony, for whose education no unsectarian provision had ever been made before, with the means of obtaining a liberal Anglo-Chinese education, and founded a school which, started as a mere experiment, seeking to create a demand for education where none existed, has already an attendance warranting the expectation of a large development in the future, and which is likely to promulgate also among the Chinese female population a knowledge of the English language and an education which will diminish the gap still existing in the colony between the education of Chinese men and women."

To these measures the address then proceeded to attribute as beneficial results the fact that the students entering Victoria College were more numerous than before, and far better grounded in English elements, "while the age at which candidates enroll themselves in the college is considerably below what it was in previous years." Finally, I was thanked for the better financial position of the officers of the department which had been effected during my administration.

In the course of a *vivâ voce* reply, I said that while by no means enamoured of the general and indiscriminate education which was apparently in favour with the modern world, being in doubt whether its advantages were not outweighed by the creation of aspirations which in the great majority could never be satisfied, I had nevertheless considered that there were special reasons for encouraging education in Hong Kong, as assisting towards the spread of the English language among the Chinese, and I was, therefore, gratified to hear from those most competent to form a judgment on the subject that my efforts in this direction had been apparently successful.

Continuing, after an appreciative reference to Mr. Stewart and the loss to the cause of education suffered by his death, I expressed indebtedness (1) to Dr. Eitel for his great energy and enthusiasm which he had shown in the work of his department, and (2) to the European teachers, who, in view of difficulties in respect of language and climate, had on the whole produced most creditable results. Finally, with regard to the Chinese teachers, I said there was reason to hope that their English education was producing increased loyalty to the British Crown and enhanced respect for the British name in the neighbouring empire. If that hope should prove to be justified, it would be a large item to the credit of the policy which I had felt it my duty to support.

The general address[1] from the public officers was presented by Chief Justice Sir James Russell, who in doing so remarked that in saying "Good-bye" they all felt they were losing not only a capable and strong Governor, but also one who had sympathy for every member of the Service.

Though my reply was cordially received, there were regrettable omissions in it. I was especially sorry that I had

[1] The address, which was, I believe, signed by every literate officer in the Service, was as follows:—

"We, the undersigned heads of departments and members of the Civil Service of Hong Kong, desire to express to your Excellency on your leaving the colony our feeling of sincere regret that such departure has become unavoidable, and deplore the cause that has led thereto.

"The impaired condition of your Excellency's health cannot by itself be otherwise than a matter of the deepest concern and regret to those who have the honour to know you, and to have lived under your able administration.

"We are confident that such an expression of regret is by no means confined to any one of the various nationalities resident in Hong Kong, but that it is assuredly shared by all.

"No portion of the community of Hong Kong can be more thoroughly aware of the gravity and responsibility of your exalted office than those members of the Service who have the honour to present this address, and in thus presenting it they are fully able to bear in mind the dignity attended by success with which your Excellency's many and onerous duties have been sustained.

"Your Excellency's presence and administration here have been un-

made no personal reference to Sir James Russell, and to the valuable aid I had received from his local experience and his wise and sober judgment. I had a great regard for him, and was glad to know that the feeling was reciprocated; so that his untimely death shortly afterwards caused me very sincere sorrow.

Wishing to avoid anything like a public demonstration, we did not make known the hour of our departure, and succeeded in getting away in comparative quiet. But a great number of the colonists came on board the *Oceanic* to bid us "good-bye," among whom I was glad to see the members of Council who had been most prominent in the recent attacks upon me. And while referring to this subject, I may mention the gratification with which I observed that when their leader, Mr. Whitehead, as President of the Chamber of Commerce, was some years afterwards commenting upon my acceptance of the office of President of the China Association in London, he, after acknowledging his difference with me in the last months of my career in the colony, used the most complimentary expressions respecting my administration as a whole, and referred to the loss which the colony had sustained by my premature departure. He thus showed that when the heat of the moment had subsided, the recollection of what I had done for the colony had outweighed all other feelings.

doubtedly regarded throughout as sure guarantees of the maintenance of justice, order, and of the prestige of the colony.

"May we be permitted to add that our regret cannot be otherwise than greatly increased by the reflection that your Excellency's departure will involve that of Lady Des Vœux, who, as is universally known, has won the deepest and highest regard from all.

"We can only hope that present rest and a less trying climate will so assist the recovery of your Excellency's health that your services may be only for a short time lost to Her Gracious Majesty the Queen."

My reply was as follows:—

"Your Honour and Gentlemen,—Pressure of work in the last few days has been such that I have not been able to prepare a suitable reply to your most touching address. But I cannot allow you to go away after so kindly coming here this morning without saying a few words of cordial thanks to you for your unduly high appreciation of my work, I may say, my fellow-work with you, in Hong Kong," etc.

Another address was presented to me on board by the officers of the Mercantile Marine Officers Association, expressing gratitude for what I had done for them in the matter of Sunday labour in the harbour. In my reply I took occasion to refer to Mr. Keswick, and the fact that though head of the leading firm of the colony, and thus specially affected by the new ordinance, he had generously supported it in Council.[1]

When leaving Hong Kong we had intended to take a rest of some months in Japan before proceeding to England. But a telegram telling us of a serious accident to our eldest son at Eton put a sudden termination to our stay there at the end of three weeks. In the interval we had visited Nikko and other places, often described elsewhere. We were also presented by the British Minister and his wife to the Emperor and Empress, and had the honour of being entertained at one of the Imperial residences in the country, where the courtiers, who at the palace had been in European uniform and gowns, appeared in Japanese dress, looking, especially the ladies, much better for the change. Nothing could have been more courteous than was our reception on both occasions, while the whole of our visit to this supremely interesting country was full of agreeable subjects of recollection.

Nikko, with its red-lacquer temples, which present a striking contrast of colour with the dark green of the splendid avenues of trees (cryptomerias) surrounding them on every side, struck me as presenting a happy combination of nature and art not to be surpassed in the world. Also vivid in my memory are the three hundred stone busts of Buddha along the banks of the river, their eternal smile of benignity producing a kind of awe which gave the inclination to take off one's hat.

[1] In connection with this subject I may mention that after many postponements caused by my repeated attacks of illness, I had some years afterwards the pleasure of receiving in Liverpool, at a meeting presided over by the Lord Mayor, a similar address from the parent society in England, from which I was glad to learn that the benefit of my measure continued to be felt by a class of men specially deserving of consideration.

In Nikko, though various comforts in the hotel evidenced the intrusion of European civilisation, the atmosphere outside was purely native. But in the larger towns the extraordinary rapidity with which Western ideas, discoveries, and inventions had been adopted, and Western dress and habits had been assimilated, was continually apparent. As regards dress I can understand that for Japanese travelling abroad it is convenient to adopt a dress like that of other people; but I cannot help wishing that in their own country they would retain the use of their picturesque national costume.

As an instance, which would certainly strike travellers, of the remarkable cleverness of the Japanese in learning and providing for the requirements of our civilisation, as well as of the administrative ability which was afterwards proved on a great scale in the Chinese War, I may mention our hotel at Tokio, which had been built since my former visits to the country. This had been designed, built, equipped and furnished exclusively by Japanese, while the manager and all his subordinates were also native-born, including the *chef* who had been sent to learn his art in Paris. All the rooms were lit with the electric light, the bedrooms having in them that luxurious form of it which is only now to be seen in the best European hotels—I mean that which enables comfortable reading in bed, brightening one's book and at the same time protecting the eyes from glare. Again, the difficulty of managing successfully a large hotel, which is referred to in the American expression, "You are a smart man, but you can't keep a hotel," seemed to have been here marvellously overcome. For the administration, service, and arrangements were all excellent, while the cooking left nothing to be desired, being worthy of one of the better Parisian restaurants. Whether this excellence has been maintained, I of course cannot tell, but can only say that when we were in Japan this was one of the best hotels at which we ever stayed.

On our voyage across the Pacific, which was our first one from east to west (with a day added to, instead of sub-

tracted from, the week), we had as fellow-passengers Prince George of Greece and a Russian captain who was travelling with him. The latter told me the particulars of the murderous attack upon the Tsarewitch in Japan, which left no doubt that, but for Prince George's presence of mind, the attempt would have been successful. In so far as I recollect, he told me that Prince George had broken the assassin's arm with his stick before he could make a second thrust with his knife, the first one having for some reason failed. In so far as I could learn in Japan, the attempt had no connection with Nihilism or Anarchism, but was simply the outcome of the anti-foreign bitterness on the part of the Samurai class. Many of this order, who had previously been gentlemen dependants upon the great nobles, were on the fall of feudalism in 1869 taken into the service of the State. Financial difficulties had, however, caused many of them to be discharged, their work, owing to their previous life, being presumably of no great value. These were consequently in a condition bordering destitution, and it is thus easy to understand how the great expenditure which was being incurred for the reception of the Tsarewitch would cause special irritation to men who regarded their claim upon the State as superior to all others. Hence their anger against their own Government was concentrated upon the foreigner whom they looked upon as treated with undue favour. Whether the attempt was made solely on personal initiative or was instigated by others, it seemed certain that the would-be assassin, with that regardlessness of his own life which is characteristic of political enthusiasts in Japan, sacrificed himself for his order, and believed himself patriotic in doing so. However this may be, such an attempt upon the life of an unoffending stranger who was at the time a guest of the country cannot be regarded otherwise than as an abominable crime; and as it was to be, I was indeed thankful that it had not taken place in Hong Kong. For in that case, though any possible precautions would have been useless, I should have suffered severely for not having taken them.

From what I saw of Prince George on this voyage I judged him to have a character in full accord with his exceptionally fine physique. Having observed him engaged in games of skill, such as are the usual resource of ocean passengers, he showed himself to have a remarkable command of temper, while his considerate courtesy to me was such as I shall never forget. On several occasions, seeing my weak condition, he set an example to others in placing or going to fetch my deck-chair and in other ways making provision for my comfort. I have never seen him since, and know nothing of the manner in which he is discharging the duties of his extremely difficult post in Crete. But as he certainly possesses tact and the faculty of sympathy, while appearing to be by no means deficient in ability, I am ready to believe, if he does not achieve success, that success is under the circumstances humanly impossible.

A young lady on board made in my hearing a fierce attack on the book, *Society as I Have Known It*, which had been written and published by Mr. Ward McAllister, my hospitable entertainer of thirty years before, and of which he had sent me a presentation copy. She said to me, "Though I do not doubt the correctness of his complimentary allusions to you and your party, his book in other respects makes me almost ashamed to be an American." The book was indeed one which on its merits was incapable of defence, and I could say nothing but express my belief that old age had made the author a very different man from him I had known.

We received at San Francisco news of such improvement of our son's health as to render unnecessary our immediate presence in England, and we determined, therefore, to spend some days in the bracing climate of Lake Tahoe, for the purpose of recruiting strength before undertaking the long journey across the continent. This little-known lake is situate at a distance of only a few miles from Truckee, on the Central Pacific Railroad, from which station we reached it by coach. We passed through much

beautiful scenery, and specially noticed the abundance of that curious tree, the "shaking aspen," whose leaves quiver continually even when there appears to be a complete absence of wind. Though the roads seemed in some places dangerous, excitable nerves were quickly quieted by confidence in the remarkable skill with which the driver managed his team of six horses. The lake is at an altitude of some six thousand feet above the sea, about that of St. Moritz in the Engadine Valley. In so far as I remember, it is some thirteen miles long by about five in width. Though the mountains surrounding it are not very high, they still had snow on them, and the air seemed specially delicious after our recent experiences of heat. We spent an agreeable fortnight at Tallac, on the western end of the lake, amusing ourselves chiefly by trolling for fish in the Fallen Leaf Lake, a smaller sheet of water situate at a short distance from the large one. Trout were here in such abundance that our little daughter, aged nine, caught seven in one afternoon, each weighing over a pound. My Chinese servant then saw snow for the first time, and as a considerable mass of it was still unmelted near the edge of the water, he begged to be rowed to it, and we were much amused by his ecstatic expressions on handling a lump of this, to him, mysterious and marvellous substance.

The water of Lake Tahoe, which probably consists chiefly of melted snow, is remarkable for its transparency, surpassing, if possible, in this respect even the sea over the coral reefs of the South Pacific. It is said, and, as far as I was able to judge, with truth, that bright objects can be seen through it at a depth of forty feet. Looking down from a scow, moored near our hotel, through a large hole which served the purpose of a water telescope, we could see three distinct varieties of fish at different depths, each apparently unconscious of the presence of the others.

We made some agreeable acquaintances here, especially Dr. Bingham and his family. His house, with its beautiful

surroundings on the lake, would have been an altogether ideal retreat but for the presence of rattlesnakes in its neighbourhood, which on one occasion during our visit made their presence disagreeably evident.

More people would, I imagine, visit Tahoe if there were a better hotel at Truckee. Possibly this want may by now be supplied, but our experiences of the place were far from agreeable. Bedrooms divided only by a narrow verandah from a filthy enclosure which apparently served the purpose of a farmyard, dirty floors with beds teeming with vermin, drinking miners making themselves continuously heard, combined to give us a night unlikely to be forgotten; and when we took the eastern-bound train the next morning, we had rarely left a place with so lively a sense of relief.

Passing through Utah, and getting a glimpse of Salt Lake and the "City of the Saints," admiring by the way the quaint castellated forms of the red sandstone in the desert, we took a rest at Manitou Springs in Colorado.[1]

The funicular railroad up Pike's Peak, that well-known landmark for the early emigrants to California, had recently been opened, and my wife and I rashly determined to make the ascent by it. The snorting, puffing, panting, hissing, and whistling engine, which was close to our car, seemed occasionally to groan in the agony of an effort beyond its power, when about half-way up we came to a dead stop. This seemed likely to be prolonged, as the locomotive left us; but after an interval of ten minutes or so it, or another, set us again in motion, and we reached the top without further mishap. There our sensations were by no means pleasant. A feeling as if my head would burst open precluded all pleasure from the extensive view, and I found it so difficult to walk straight that a stranger might have

[1] At the hotel there we had occasion to notice the curious change which Western usage has made in the meaning of some English words. A St. Louis lady said to my wife, "Oh, —— is a lovely man!" The guinea-coloured complexion and emaciated person of the individual alluded to afforded striking proof that the epithet applied to him did not refer to his personal appearance.

been excused in suspecting me of being drunk. My wife, whom I left sitting, had apparently looked so ill that a young Englishman who had come up in the same car rushed off to obtain something to revive her. In coming back to her, however, he was himself so overcome with giddiness as to fall down. On questioning the other passengers I found that they had all suffered more or less in the same way. We were no doubt affected by mountain sickness, and though the height of Pike's Peak (some 14,000 feet) is not so very great, its effect upon us was probably the more powerful on account of the suddenness with which we had made the ascent.

A night passed at Denver gave me the opportunity of seeing something of that wonderful town, which had within a very short period of years sprung up in the wilderness. The gorgeous and, on the whole, tasteful decoration of our comfortable hotel and the adjoining theatre was remarkable enough as seen in a place which ten years before was unknown to the world. But even more striking was the fact of which I was told, that there were already over one thousand subscribers to the Telephone Exchange.

In passing through what was in my day Canada West (now Ontario) we spent a few hours at London, in order that I might show my wife a place where I had passed some months thirty-four years before. The town had grown almost beyond recognition; but I was glad to find still alive some friends who remembered me, especially Mr. Edward Harris, a barrister, in whose office I had learnt the rudiments of law, and from whose family I had received much kindness.

We visited once again the Niagara Falls, of which the grandeur makes a deeper impression the oftener they are seen.

Before leaving for England we had a week's rest at Ringwood, New Jersey, the hospitable house of our friends the Hewitts, with whom we had previously stayed on our second journey to Fiji.

Immediately after my arrival in England I received official intimation that my successor in the government of Hong Kong had been appointed, and that my connection with the colony would cease at the end of the three months' leave of absence which had been granted to me. Not a word of regret was expressed in respect of the cause of my retirement, nor was there the slightest recognition, verbal or otherwise, of my services. No doubt the omission was accidental; but I venture to think it ought not to have occurred, the more especially as in the whole of my long career, in which on several occasions I had incurred very exceptional responsibilities, I had never been visited with censure. It thus happened that, for more than two years after my resignation, my ill-health was aggravated by the belief, which seemed to be confirmed by other circumstances unnecessary to mention here, that I had given some personal offence which had outweighed all consideration for my services. However this may have been, my mind was relieved in June, 1893, by Lord Ripon (who then held the seals of the Colonial Office) in a letter which, after an appreciative recognition of my "long and distinguished service to the Crown," intimated that Her Majesty had been graciously pleased to confer upon me the honour of G.C.M.G.

Some weeks after my final retirement I experienced the disappointment about my pension which I have mentioned in connection with Fiji. Though the decision which caused this cannot but be keenly felt until the end of my life, the more especially as I believe it to have contravened the express words of the Act of Parliament, I am quite aware that the injustice is now beyond remedy, and I have no desire that the question should be reopened with any reference personally to myself. I mention the matter, therefore, solely in the hope that the attention thus drawn to my case may, in the interests of present and future office-holders, induce some reconsideration of the general question of Governors' pensions.

The salary of a Governor is rarely, if ever, larger than is required for the maintenance of a decent establishment and for the hospitality expected of him—hospitality, it may be remarked, which is sometimes not merely expected, but is absolutely necessary for oiling the wheels of the government machine. So that if a Governor has no private income and has properly fulfilled the obligations of his position, he is on his retirement absolutely dependent for a living upon his pension. Considering that his work is, or ought to be, more arduous, while his responsibility is incomparably greater than that of any of his subordinates, it would be supposed that he ought, as regards pension, to be placed in at least as good a position as they. And yet within a short period after my retirement two of my subordinates in Hong Kong were awarded pensions, not only higher than mine, but higher than the full first-class pension of a Governor. One of these officers had to his credit service of almost exactly the same length as mine, and yet was awarded a pension three-fourths larger. The other, though he had served longer, had been only for a few years Puisne Judge, and before that occupied no higher position than that of Registrar of Court; and yet his pension was larger than mine by about fifty per cent!

Governors' pensions are paid from the Imperial Treasury in accordance with the Acts of Parliament on the subject; while the pensions of other officers fall upon the colonies in which they have served. It might be supposed from the above difference of treatment that Great Britain can afford less well than its dependencies to be liberal for service to the Crown.

Immediately after the above decision was made known to me I passed through a critical period of illness. Although typhoid fever, especially following influenza, is a serious matter for one with a constitution tried as mine had been, it proved in the end to be my salvation, as it cured all other ills except that which had caused my resignation of office.

An incident of this illness was sufficiently amusing to deserve mention. The winter of 1891–2 being one of the first seasons of influenza, to which we have now become so well accustomed, there seems to have been a morbid curiosity on the part of the public with regard to invalids, and a list of them with the condition of each was published every day in the papers. A rumour of my critical condition having got about, reporters were continually showing inquisitiveness about even so obscure an individual as myself. The manager of my hotel at Brighton had, however, for obvious reasons, baffled them successfully, until at last one, under pretence of a visit, managed to reach the door of my bedroom. He encountered there an old waiter who, taken off his guard, was overheard to reply to a question about the nature of my complaint, "Summat wrong with his innards." The next day there appeared in the London papers a statement that I was lying dangerously ill of an internal complaint.

My last interview with Mr. Gladstone occurred at Biarritz in the early months of 1893. Mr. Gladstone, at the time Prime Minister, had come to the place mentioned for a short holiday. I found him and Mrs. Gladstone sitting together, and they received me with quite unexpected cordiality. I then had a long conversation with them, Mr. Gladstone showing much interest in Chinese matters, and drawing me on the question of opium, as to which I fancied I succeeded in impressing him with a different view from that of the Anti-Opium Society. Home politics were of course carefully excluded. I was at the time suffering from a severe cold, which turned out to be the precursor of a second attack of influenza; and Mr. Gladstone seeing this, very kindly went out of the room to find for me a prescription which he had found valuable. As soon as he was gone, Mrs. Gladstone, who had hitherto been for the most part silent, said to me, "Oh, Sir William, what do you think about Uganda?" I replied, "If I had been asked before we had gone there whether it was expedient to go there, I should

have said, Most certainly not; for I should have regarded it as meaning the expenditure of millions with absolutely no prospect of any adequate return for the money. But the question whether, having gone there, we can now honourably retire is an entirely different one, on which an insufficient acquaintance with present conditions debars me from expressing an opinion." On this Mr. Gladstone returned with the prescription, when Mrs. Gladstone said, "Oh, William, Sir William entirely agrees with you about Uganda." Thereupon I thought it necessary to restate my position exactly, which the above impetuous remark might cause to be misunderstood. Mr. Gladstone, however, ignored the subject altogether, and resumed talk on the merits of the prescription. I have always been inclined to infer from the above that Mr. Gladstone was at this time in favour of retiring from Uganda, and must have been out-voted in his Cabinet. Probably the time was then too late for retirement; but I have no feeling but regret that it was so. For I regard Uganda as never likely to be otherwise than a terribly expensive and altogether unremunerative possession. My reasons for this view it would be out of place to give here; but, in the unlikely event of anyone caring to know them, I may mention that they may be gathered from an article which I wrote some years ago for the *Nineteenth Century* entitled "Delusions About Tropical Agriculture."

What may be regarded as the closing scene of my official life was my investiture by the gracious hand of the late Queen Victoria with the star, ribbon, and badge of G.C.M.G. Those who were to be decorated at the same time went in a party down to Southampton by special train and were carried to Osborne from the steamer in royal carriages. After having had luncheon with the household, we were crossing a court of the Castle in single file and in the order in which we were to be invested. I was the last of four Grand Crosses, Lord (now Earl) Roberts, who was to receive the Star of India, being immediately in front of me. General Sir Percy Fielding, as the first of the Knights Commanders,

was next behind. Just as we were about entering a door in the expectation of being immediately in the Presence, Percy Fielding remarked, "Des Vœux, you are out of the fashion." I at once imagined that something was wrong with my uniform which it was too late to remedy. But Lord Roberts, turning round and looking me up and down, gave me reassurance by saying, "I see nothing wrong with Sir William." To which Percy Fielding replied, "Oh no, nothing wrong; but he is out of the fashion—he is the only one of us who hasn't got white hair!"

Immediately following that of Lord Roberts came my turn to kneel at the Sovereign's feet. In the graceful way which was natural to Her Majesty she, after I had "kissed hands," attached to me the Star of the Order, but the putting over my head the ribbon carrying the badge caused a difficulty. Owing to my unduly long body Her Majesty was unable to reach far enough, when Prince Henry of Battenberg stepped forward and rendered the necessary assistance, Her Majesty meanwhile smiling so graciously as to relieve the incident of all awkwardness. I had had a vague hope that while in the room with Her Majesty on this occasion I should for once have heard her voice; but neither then nor before or after did I ever do so, and now, alas! such hope is gone for ever. By a custom derived from a time when the colonies were held in slight estimation, Governors of even the most important Crown Colonies did not then have the honour of audiences on appointment, whereas Ministers accredited to the least important of foreign powers had that honour. The day is, I hope, coming, if it has not already come, when the Governor, say, of Ceylon or the Straits Settlements will be held in at least as high estimation as the Minister to Ecuador or Columbia.

On my return to Switzerland, whence I had travelled to attend the investiture, I caught cold in crossing the Channel. Having been made President of the Engadine Golf Club, which had its links at Samaden, whither I had gone as an

"after-cure" from a course of Vichy waters, it fell to me on reaching there to receive H.R.H. the Duchess of Teck, who before my arrival had graciously consented to give away the prizes at the annual competition. After the prize-giving was over I thanked the Duchess, and the Duchess of Aosta who accompanied her, in a short speech, which, I was glad to observe from a remark in Her Royal Highness's diary, caused her pleasure.

The marriage of the Duke and Duchess of York had just taken place, and the passage in my little speech which referred to this was that probably which specially gave her satisfaction. It was to the effect that Her Royal Highness being as it was the descendant, there was a universal hope that by the recent happy event she would also become the ancestress, of a long line of British Sovereigns.

After their Royal Highnesses had been entertained at tea by Mr. and Lady Rachel Sanderson, I escorted them to their respective carriages, the Duchess of Teck detaining me for some minutes in kindly conversation in the doorway of the hotel. A bitterly cold wind, from which the Engadine is not exempt even in the summer months, was blowing at the time. Her Royal Highness apparently did not feel it; but it was otherwise with me, who, apart from my cold and from the effects of long residence in the tropics, had been weakened by the Vichy "cure." I experienced at once a severe chill; but as the Duchess had kindly expressed a wish that I should be present at a picnic which was to be given to her the next day, I made an effort to comply. The weather was still very cold, and the drive to the place where the picnic took place caused me a shivering fit which compelled an immediate return home. That night I became dangerously ill, and my wife, unknown to me, was summoned by telegraph, this being the second occurrence of the kind within two years. Pending her arrival, which, as she travelled night and day, occurred within forty-eight hours, I was continuously cared for by the Sandersons and their family, whose kindness on the

occasion can never be forgotten, Mr. Sanderson, moreover, having considerately gone down to Coire to meet my wife, so that she should not have to make alone the night journey over the Alps.

Though no one in the hotel expected that I should survive the ordeal, the skill of Dr. Holland, whom my wife at once summoned from St. Moritz, and her own indefatigable nursing produced early improvement, and in the course of a fortnight it became possible to remove me down to the plains. But the high altitude had so strained my heart that I was obliged to give up golf and all kinds of sport, and for some years was even unable to take any active exercise.

After trying in vain various cures and the remedies of several great physicians, all without the slightest beneficial effect, I was at length induced to try massage and purely manual treatment. Under the celebrated Dr. Mezger, formerly of Amsterdam and now of Paris, and Mr. Kellgren, of London, I became gradually better, and at length, after some nine years of suffering from them, I am free from the attacks which caused my resignation, and have come into better health than I have experienced for over thirty years.

One incident occurring during this period of recovery causes me special pleasure in retrospect. At a time when Chinese affairs were attracting much public attention, a representative of Reuter's agency came to interview me on the subject. Matters were then coming to a crisis between the United States and Spain; and in reply to a question, I said that that moment was a peculiarly opportune one for showing sympathy with the former, the cordial accord of the two kindred nations being specially desirable in respect of the China question as well as on all other grounds. Much to my astonishment my opinion was telegraphed across the Atlantic, and appeared in many American newspapers. According to the correspondents of some of the London dailies, it had a most favourable

effect in Washington, and caused the Union Jack to be waved together with the Stars and Stripes in some of the New York theatres. The same note of sympathy was touched afterwards by men immeasurably better known than myself, such as Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Charles Beresford; but I had struck it first, and hence probably my words had an effect very disproportionate to the obscure position of him who uttered them.

Shortly after my retirement from office, when I had hopes, which proved delusive, of an early recovery, I had contemplated an attempt to enter Parliament as a Liberal Unionist. But now that that recovery has at length occurred, I am too old for the long hours and close atmosphere of the House of Commons; and as England affords no means of otherwise utilising experience which ought to be of value, while circumstances preclude me from seeking further colonial employment, I must be content to remain in the complete retirement which is the lot of many better men.

FINIS

APPENDICES

I

Extract from the Official Gazette of Fiji containing Governor's Justification of New Labour Law

MESSAGE OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR TO THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, WITH REFERENCE TO THE PROPOSED NATIVE LABOUR ORDINANCE, 1883.

G. W. Des Vœux.

THE ordinance having for its short title "The Native Labour Ordinance, 1883," which is now before the Legislative Council, is a measure of very great importance to the future of this colony, and has been prepared only after long and anxious consideration.

In three successive years the chiefs assembled in the Bose Vakaturaga have complained of the misery and suffering to the old and to the women and children of certain provinces through the withdrawal to distant plantations of an undue proportion of the able-bodied men; and as it is known that these complaints have not been without very substantial foundation, Her Majesty's Government has drawn special attention to them with a view to the provision of such remedies as may be practicable.

The necessity of amending the Native Labour Ordinance of 1877 had, however, for a long time occupied the attention of this Government during the administration both of the late and the present Governor, and it is only because of the exceeding difficulty of the subject, and the necessity of attention to affairs of even more pressing importance, that it has not been already dealt with, both for the reason specially referred to by the chiefs and for others.

It is now well known, though it cannot be too often repeated, that one of the first objects which the Government of this colony is bound to keep in view is the preservation of the natives; but it is less generally recognised that this policy is dictated not merely by considerations of honour and humanity, but by the

simplest economical expediency. In temperate climates such as those of the neighbouring colonies the aborigines as they disappear are replaced by a superior race, and the general result, however deplorable may be the means of arriving at it, is probably in the end beneficial to the world at large. But in this, as in other tropical countries where whites cannot be the tillers of the soil, the only possible substitutes for the natives are other coloured labourers imported at heavy expense from a distance.

Leaving out of consideration the very considerable and increasing quantity of exports produced by natives working for themselves, the Fijian labour available for white employers, though not as abundant as they would like it to be, is yet of unquestionable value, as to produce the same results without it would involve far greater cost. The supply might no doubt be considerably increased for a time if all restrictions were removed; but if restrictions are, as the Government believes, absolutely necessary for the preservation of the native race, their removal, even from the white man's point of view, would be a benefit to the present generation at unduly heavy cost to their successors.

Apart, therefore, from the question of humanity and from the special consideration which is due to a people by whose free gift Her Majesty obtained the sovereignty of these islands, the preservation of the native race and restrictions upon labour engagements, as conducing to that end, may be justified on economical grounds alone, it being evidently better for the colony to retain a certain quantity of labour for ever than to take a course which, while increasing the supply for the moment, would in no long time bring about its exhaustion. It is better, in fact, to live on the interest of the labour-supply than to squander the capital.

The exceptional efforts of various kinds which have been hitherto made for the preservation of the natives have so far met with a success which, though by no means complete, affords much ground for encouragement. The depopulation which, according to the best authority on the subject, had been going on for many years previous to the cession, has been arrested, and each succeeding year is showing a small but increasing surplus of births over deaths. The margin of excess is, however, still very small, having been only two hundred in 1881, or only one-sixth of one per cent. of the population; and it is evident that, when the scales are so evenly poised, any substantial weight either added to that of death

or withdrawn from that of life would throw the balance in the opposite direction.

That the numbers of a community which is almost entirely dependent for its existence upon food obtained by tillage of the ground are certain to be diminished both by decrease of births and increase of deaths through the withdrawal of an undue proportion of the able-bodied men is too obvious to require pointing out, while of the misery and suffering produced from the same cause we have in certain provinces very striking illustrations. The ill effects are, however, by no means confined to the people abandoned. Where men are suddenly emancipated from the severe, to a great extent wholesome, restraints which have for generations been imposed on them by their social organisation, they commonly fall into irregularities which are conducive neither to their own well-being nor to that of the communities into which they intrude their presence. Complaints are frequent with respect to the seduction and prostitution of women and of other evils brought about under these circumstances, and consequently the absence of these wandering labourers is often as much desired in the place of their temporary residence as it is regretted at their homes.

Though these evils, all tending as they do towards depopulation, do not of course justify the retention of the whole people in their home districts, they do appear to furnish strong ground for restricting migration within due limits, whether for labour engagements or for any other purpose, when the very slight excess of births over deaths is taken into consideration.

It is sometimes urged on behalf of employers that the Fijians, being now British subjects, are entitled to all the freedom usually attached to that condition, and should be permitted to go where and to contract with whom they please, whatever the results to them and their race.

Without reference to the consideration that even in civilised countries people are not free to leave their wives and families to the support of the community, the above is not the principle on which this Government has been hitherto conducted, and on which, it is to be hoped, it will continue to be conducted.

No disinterested person who knows the Fijians would venture to assert that they are generally fit for the freedom of civilised men. Accustomed for unnumbered generations to be subject to the direction of their chiefs and elders in the minutest details of

everyday life, they are now much in the position of children, and are for their own sakes equally unfit to be free of control. For this reason, therefore, and not merely on economical or other more obvious grounds of policy, the government of their chiefs has been upheld, their own traditional laws have been to a large extent retained, their contracts of all kinds with white men have been placed under supervision, their tendency to incur debt has been subjected to special checks, and indulgence in intoxicating drink has been entirely prohibited.

With regard to the latter prohibition it is worthy of note that it was generally if not universally approved by the same section of the community which objects to the control of labour engagements, and yet, apart from the interest of the whites, it is difficult to understand why restriction of freedom is more justifiable in the one case than the other. The Governor believes that the justification for both restrictions is equally strong, each being necessary to save the lives of those subject to it and being at the same time an indirect benefit to the white community also.

Another objection which was raised to Sir Arthur Gordon's ordinance of 1877, and which is sure to recur with respect to this ordinance, is that in diminishing the facilities for leaving home the people are more subjected to the power of their chiefs. While such a result is no doubt possible, the Governor would not look upon it as by any means an unmixed evil, or an evil at all in the majority of cases. He is of course well aware that Fijian chiefs are commonly represented as avaricious tyrants, who seize all the property worth owning upon which they can lay their hands, and whose rule as having reference solely to self-interest is a yoke under which their people continually groan. It is hardly necessary, therefore, to say that he regards this description of the chiefs generally as grossly false and unjust, though it is not difficult to understand, and it may be well for various reasons to indicate, how it has come to be entertained.

In stating what is matter of notoriety, that apart from considerations of individual character, the mere position of the chiefs is generally regarded with disfavour by the white community and by the Press, which is conducted in its interest, the Governor does not in the least intend to impute that the views of both are not honestly expressed; but while giving full credit for the philanthropy which is usually put forward as their motive, though it occasionally proceeds from unexpected quarters, he deems it probable that those

whose professions in this respect are quite genuine are nevertheless unconsciously influenced, and have their judgment warped, by other considerations. But however this may be, the fact cannot be ignored that the possession of power by others is never agreeable to those who desire it for themselves, and that the government of chiefs is unquestionably an obstacle to that influence over the people, and that command of labourers, which planters and others not unnaturally wish to possess. Hence, probably, it has happened that some of the chiefs, such as the late Ratu Isikeli, who have incurred the bitterest hostility from the white community, have best fulfilled their duties to their people, while others again, such as the dismissed Bulis, Sabeto and Vuda, who were detected in real oppression, have been generally regarded with favour.

The feeling against chiefs being well known to the natives, and as strong chiefs, like strong Governments, are apt to have the more bitter enemies, there are never wanting men ready to invent or exaggerate stories to their prejudice—men who, being malcontent with their rule (often on account of misdeeds for which they owe or have received punishment), are on that very account the more desirous to curry favour with white men.

These stories, even when they have a certain foundation of truth, sometimes receive an entirely wrong complexion from the ignorance of the nature and working of the native social organization which prevails even among persons who have resided for a long time in Fiji; and hence many acts, which have been done by the chiefs as the instrument of the expressed will of the communities and for the general behoof, have appeared to superficial observation as simply the product of arbitrary caprice, or dictated solely by self-interest.

But whatever may be the origin of such stories, the Governor is glad of the opportunity of mentioning that all, or nearly all, of those which have been published have on investigation proved to be either wholly false in so far as they involved discredit, or so exaggerated as to have little semblance of truth. In the few instances where there has been real oppression an account of it has rarely been published, and this silence was specially significant in the cases of two high chiefs who were dismissed from office in 1881 for compelling people against their will to leave home under labour engagements with white employers.

It is commonly said that the more favourable and, as the Governor believes, the correct view of the chiefs' character is in-

duced by ignorance of the truth, and that the people when really aggrieved are afraid to complain. That this fear is much exaggerated is shown by the complaints of a trivial kind which are not unfrequently made to the Native Department; and when it is considered that the chiefs are for the most part surrounded by unfriendly eyes, it is unlikely that any of their serious misdeeds entirely escape notice. Native officers, no doubt, sometimes commit acts deserving of blame, and not unfrequently, perhaps, if they are to be judged according to the standard of an advanced civilisation. But serious misconduct on their part has, it is believed, been rare, and is likely for the future to be still rarer, now that it is known from signal examples that the highest rank will not protect from punishment. Though a considerable number of chiefs have been dismissed or suspended from office, it is entirely untrue, as has been readily taken for granted, that these punishments were exclusively or even generally for oppression, the misconduct in the majority of cases having consisted merely of neglect of duty or of irregularities for which parallels could readily be found among the doings of public officers in more civilised countries. The absence of anything like general oppression is, to say the least, indicated by the profound peace which reigns in the colony, and by the fact that (with the exception of the outbreak of the mountain tribes of Viti Levu at a time when they had not been subjected to British rule) there has not been since the cession a single rising against the chiefs or the Government.

But granting that a certain amount of ill-doing takes place—and abuses will occur in every human system—the Governor has good reason to know that a balance of benefit is to be found on the other side of the account, and considering what the Fijians have recently been, he deems it a subject of wonder that the chiefs' rule should be of so creditable a character. Many instances might be quoted of their collective and individual good sense, and their regard for other interests than their own, while there is good reason to believe that very many of them are really striving to do their best for their people, according to their lights, under extremely difficult conditions, and by no means without a considerable measure of success. In short, after three years' exceptional experience, the Governor has gradually formed the opinion, which now amounts to conviction, that relations between the chiefs and people are on the whole mutually beneficial, and that though together with the communal system and other ancient institutions

they are sure sooner or later to come to an end, he is satisfied that their cessation, if otherwise than very gradual, would be quite as disastrous to one side as the other.

Thus much as regards the general reasons for the restriction and supervision of labour engagements, which is the object of the proposed ordinance. The particular provisions of this measure are to a certain extent the same as those of the ordinance of 1877, now in force, which was passed for the same purpose by Sir A. Gordon. While this latter law for a time well fulfilled its object, experience of its working has disclosed some serious omissions, as might have been expected in connection with so novel and difficult a subject, and it is in consequence becoming more and more inadequate to meet the new condition of things which is being brought about by the large influx of capital.

The principal amendments which it has been found necessary to introduce are (1) for increased security that labourers desire to engage, by providing for the previous registration of their wish to do so, and for the punishment of bribery practised with a view of compelling them to do so; (2) to encourage in certain cases engagements to work near home rather than at a distance from it; (3) to put an end to the system of monthly contracts which has arisen in contravention of the spirit of the existing law.

The provisions by which it is hoped to attain these objects have been drawn in the most stringent form in the first instance, in order that the alterations may, as far as possible, be only in the way of modification. Some important amendments of this kind (one of them relaxing the restrictions with regard to married people, and another providing for the enlargement of the field of local labour) have already been made, and will be explained when the sections which they affect come under consideration; while the Governor has no doubt that the local experience of honourable members will be able to suggest further improvements which do not touch fundamental principles.

But while leaving these provisions for the most part for discussion at the Board, the Governor deems it necessary to refer shortly to the subject of bribery and to that of the monthly contracts described.

Bribery of chiefs and others, with a view to their inducing labourers to engage, has lately received a very serious impetus from the large increase of capital in the colony. It is a practice which, owing to the loyalty of the people to their hereditary

superiors, renders it impossible to know with certainty whether labour contracts are entered into willingly. In some instances it is known that people have been compelled to engage against their will, and though the severe punishment of the offending chiefs no doubt gave a check to this abuse, it would be expecting too much of human nature to suppose that Fijians can invariably withstand the large bribes which are now being offered to them.

The system of monthly contracts above referred to has arisen in consequence of a well-known decision of the Supreme Court. Under it men are carried away from their homes nominally under monthly engagements, but really for much longer periods. These contracts, being made subject to no supervision, have been found to lead to much abuse, and the employers not being bound to return the labourers to their homes on the expiration of their engagements, the latter have in too many instances become wanderers, working nowhere long, and causing much mischief among the Fijians, of whose too readily extended hospitality they have thought fit to avail themselves—doing, in fact, much harm and little or no good either to themselves or anyone else.

The Governor deems it now necessary to notice an objection which was taken to the proposed ordinance at the first reading, to the effect that, if passed, it will practically cut off the native labour-supply of the colony.

On this point the Governor and his advisers hold an entirely contrary opinion. It is possible that those may be to a certain extent affected who live at great distance from all the places where long-engagement labourers are usually obtained, and upon islands held in fee-simple from which the native inhabitants have been extruded; but even in these cases, where the treatment of the employed is known to be good, it is doubtful whether the sanction of legitimate engagements to be given by, and in connection with, this measure will not cause any deficiency in labourers obtained from a distance to be to a large extent made up by people living in the more immediate neighbourhood who have hitherto furnished very few labourers to plantations. But however this may be, while the ordinance will unquestionably make this difference, that a larger proportion of labourers will engage nearer to their homes, the Governor is satisfied that it will not permanently decrease the general stock of labour available for the benefit of white men, but will rather tend to increase it as saving to a great extent the time lost in long passages to and from the scenes of labour. While

the measure will afford security that indentured labourers have really wished to go abroad to earn wages, and have not merely succumbed for the moment to the blandishments of the recruiter, it will not be used, and indeed effectual means will be taken to prevent its being used, to hinder from going men who really wish to go, so long as there are sufficient left behind to prevent the disastrous consequences above referred to; in fact, the Governor believes that after the lapse of a sufficient time to bring the ordinance into full operation, it will be found that as many natives are working for white men as now—and that is many more than the number similarly employed at any previous time.

If such a result should not occur, it would be to the Governor a subject of sincere regret, as he need scarcely to say that to oppose in any way even the immediate interest of his own countrymen is by no means an agreeable duty. At the same time, his view as to the necessity of the ordinance would in that event be in no way altered, believing as he does that it will be for the ultimate benefit even of the white race, and that it is in any case required for the vital interests of those who constitute an enormous majority of the population.

To another objection which was raised against the ordinance of 1877, and which is sure to be renewed now, viz. that these measures are intended to assist the system of native taxation, and are, therefore, chiefly for revenue purposes, the Governor would scarcely deem it necessary to make reply if the statement had not attained credence by frequent reiteration.

So far from intending to increase the revenue by these means, the Governor is quite well aware that it will have the contrary effect, or rather that, while not actually decreasing receipts, it will hinder them from increasing as rapidly in the immediate future as they would otherwise do.

There cannot be a doubt that if the capital at disposal were allowed free play, and the whole male population were thus transferred to the plantations, the exports and imports, and consequently the revenue of the colony, would, within the next few years, increase much more rapidly even that it is likely to do under present circumstances.

It is believed, however, that this commercial and financial gain would be acquired only at the cost of the life of the native race, and for reasons above indicated would in the end be not even economically advantageous. So far, then, from desiring to in-

crease revenue by this ordinance, the Government is making a deliberate sacrifice of it, and also of the credit that would be gained by prosperity, however ephemeral, brought about under its auspices.

Unless the existing law should be amended, and largely amended, in the direction indicated, the recent influx of capital, and the more urgent demand for labour thereby produced, by increasing indefinitely the use of the loopholes which have been discovered for evading its spirit, will render it continually more ineffective, and the ultimate result is not difficult to foresee. The natives, instead of, as now, being generally in the position of peasants, cultivating their own land, will, as regards the men, be gradually but surely transformed into bands of migratory labourers. The women, no longer married, will form only temporary and irregular connections which are not conducive to the birth and rearing of children, and the whole population will in no long time, probably within a single century, be entirely extinct.

Though the opinions above expressed are supported by many lessons of history, if they were mere theory raised on such a foundation alone, or if they were held only by himself, the Governor would have hesitated long before giving them expression in this practical and serious form. They are, however, strongly confirmed by facts now occurring within the local experience, and are, as regards their general principle, held to the extent of conviction not only by the present Governor, but by his able predecessor; by the Colonial Secretary, and by the Receiver-General, now absent; by the late Chairman of the Lands Commission, whose connection with the colony was only of a temporary character; by the late and present Commissioner for Native Affairs, and, he believes, by all the prominent public officers in the colony—in fact, by everyone with whom the Governor has conversed on the subject, and who, having had the capacity and the opportunity required to form a correct opinion, has at the same time been in a position to regard the question from a disinterested point of view.

It will no doubt be suggested, as usual, that this body of concurrent opinion is to a large extent due to its accord with the policy of the Government of the day; and though the officers named need no defence against such an attack, the Governor thinks it may not be without influence upon the opinion of those to whom they are unknown to mention the fact that he for the

most part learnt their views when his own were only very imperfectly formed, and when he was desirous of seeing all sides of a debated question which was naturally a subject of much anxiety.

As regards the unofficial members of Council, while the Governor fears the attempt would be hopeless to convince them as against prejudices which are created by their surroundings, and are in their case only natural and to be expected, he trusts that they will at all events not permit themselves to be influenced by one form of pressure which it has been attempted to bring to bear upon them.

Though for the most part members of the planting body, and therefore not likely to neglect its interests, they are not, any more than are the Governor and the other official members, representatives in a parliamentary sense of that or any other class. They have been appointed by the Queen to act for the whole community, and not for any particular section of it—certainly not for the special interests of a class which, after all, constitutes only a very small minority.

While the Governor does not in the least underestimate the importance, and relatively to its numbers the superior importance, of the class in question, and is willing and anxious to advance the interests of its members by every legitimate method, he is unable to give way to their views on this question; indeed, he could not do so even if he were less satisfied than he is that the proposed ordinance will prove to be for their own ultimate benefit, and that that fact will one day be generally recognised when the passions and prejudices of the moment have passed away.

II

Despatch in support of Newfoundland Bait Bill

GOVERNOR SIR G. WILLIAM DES VŒUX TO COLONIAL OFFICE.

(COPY.)

No. 2.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND,
14th January, 1887.

SIR,

In view of the great anxiety existing in this colony with regard to the fate of the Bill "To regulate the Exportation of Herring, Caplin, Squid, and other Bait Fishes," which passed the local Legislature in the session of last year, and was reserved by me for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure, I feel bound to accede to the desire of my Ministers that I should make another effort to obtain from Her Majesty's Government a decision favourable to the desires of the colonists.

2. The more complete knowledge of the position of affairs which I have acquired during the six months that have elapsed since I first addressed your predecessor with regard to this Bill, and the fuller consideration which in the meantime I have had the opportunity of giving to the subject, have strengthened to the point of complete conviction my previous impression of its vital importance to the interest of the colony, and have left me no reason to doubt that the disallowance of the measure, without the adoption of some other equally efficacious to secure the same end, will be nothing less than a calamity.

3. For it is only by residence here that it is possible to appreciate to the full how completely the prosperity of the colony depends on its fisheries, and how inevitable is the ruin and misery of the greater part of its population unless the causes are removed that tend to render this industry continuously unprofitable.

4. Owing to the absence of coal, there is not the slightest likelihood that any manufacture of appreciable importance can be carried on here at a profit for purposes of export, and such fac-

tories as are here, or are likely to be established, are, as may be expected to be, either directly connected with the fisheries, or indirectly dependent on them, as supplying the only means for the purchase of their products.

5. As regards agriculture, there are, no doubt, large tracts of waste land in the colony which are fairly capable of cultivation, and it may, therefore, be asked, Why is the attention of the population not directed to this as a resource, and why cannot they succeed as cultivators, as well, for instance, as the people of Manitoba, who have even a more inhospitable climate, and are, many of them, equally without training for agricultural pursuits?

6. The reply to this is, that though the cold of Newfoundland is by no means as intense as that of Manitoba, or even that of the province of Quebec, the winter here is equally long, if not longer, than it is there, while, on the other hand, there is an absence of the extreme heat of summer which prevails in Canada; and thus wheat, barley, maize, apples, etc., which are the main dependence of the Canadian farmer, cannot, unless under exceptional conditions, be brought to maturity here, while even oats frequently fail to ripen from the same cause, and have to be cut as fodder for cattle. Moreover, as regards the soil, I question whether the extremest enthusiast would venture to compare the capabilities of even that comparatively small portion of it which is cultivable with the prairie lands of Manitoba and the Western United States; so that while the latter are still so partially settled there is absolutely no prospect whatever that the harvests of Newfoundland can ever take the place of the products of its seas for the purpose of export to outside markets.

7. Newfoundland might very possibly produce all the potatoes and meat which it requires for its own consumption, if any considerable portion of its population could be induced to overcome its reluctance to abandon the sea and betake itself exclusively to the cultivation of the soil, while some, though probably no very great, advance might be made in this direction even under the present system of combining farming with fishing pursuits; but even this comparatively small advantage would involve a great change in the habits of the people that could only be brought about gradually, and which, when accomplished, would afford only to a limited number a very bare support. It would create nothing to exchange with the outside world for wheat, coal, and other articles that have come to be regarded as necessaries of life,

and would not in any appreciable degree hinder the rapid decay of wealth or prevent the consequent collapse of the revenue that would result from continuously unremunerative fisheries.

8. That the disastrous results expected from this cause are by no means conjectural, we have evident indications from what has occurred during the past year. During the winter now passing the destitution of a great number of the people has been such that the Government, in order to save them from starvation, has been compelled to spend over £50,000 on relief works. As only a very small, if any, part of this amount can be defrayed from ordinary revenue—and there is good reason for believing that the latter cannot to any considerable extent be increased—such an expenditure would be sufficiently serious if the existing state of things could be regarded as abnormal; what, however, constitutes the gravity of the situation is that it is probably not an exceptional one.

9. For, though the produce of the Labrador fishery has been in quantity about one-third below the average, and there has probably been an even greater failure off the coast of Newfoundland proper, from St. John's northward, there has, on the other hand, been an unusually good "catch" on the southern and western coasts, while the fishery on what are called the "Banks of Newfoundland" has also been much more than ordinarily productive. In fact, the gain on the one side so far compensates for the loss on the other that the fish export of the colony will, it is believed, prove little, if at all, short of the average. But, however this may be, it is at least certain that there have been many occasions in the past when the general failure was far greater than in the last season, and yet the necessity for Government support was much less urgent.

10. The cause of this difference is not far to seek. Formerly, when the world was more exclusively supplied from Newfoundland, a falling off in the quantity of produce was usually followed by enhanced prices, and even when this was otherwise the merchants had confidence that the years of abundance would compensate for the years of scarcity, and were thus encouraged to support the destitute fishermen by advances to be repaid in the future—a system which, nowever open to exception in other respects, had at least the advantage that to a great extent it precluded the necessity of pauper relief.

11. Now, however, this confidence on the part of the merchants is completely wanting, as they have reason to apprehend from

painful experience that production beyond the average would only depress prices to a point still more unremunerative; and, as the practice of advances is on this account coming rapidly to an end, the people who would formerly have been thus supported are now compelled to resort to the Government.

12. If this be a true description of the position, and I am bound to say that it is held to be so by those who appear most competent to form an opinion on the subject, I need scarcely say that the prospect in front of the colony is nothing less than alarming. For it is evident that such expenditure on works that are only to a very limited extent remunerative cannot continue without a collapse of the colonial credit, and hence very terrible and general distress is only a question of time, and not a very long time, unless some very substantial change can be effected in the commercial situation.

13. As the only available means of bringing about this desirable change, the colonists look to this measure for practically prohibiting the export of bait fishes; and, in view of the importance of the subject, I trust I may be excused for again calling attention to the considerations upon which their hopes in this respect are based, and to the reasons which they regard as giving them an incontestable claim to give effect to their views.

14. Dried codfish, the production of which may be said to constitute the main support of our population, is to the extent of probably two-thirds of the consumption of the world obtained from the seas in the immediate neighbourhood of this colony, either on the coasts of the island and its dependency, Labrador, or over the extensive marine plateau known as the "Banks of Newfoundland." Of late years the coast fishery has much declined in actual extent, and still more in relative importance; while, on the other hand, that of the Banks has, from various causes, advanced with rapid strides.[1]

15. As the Banks of Newfoundland are outside the limits of our territorial waters, people of other nationalities beside the British, especially French and Americans, are engaged in the fishery there; and it is the great increase of their numbers in recent years, and the enormously increased quantity of fish thus obtained, which is regarded as the principal cause of the diminished prices which are so seriously affecting this colony.

[1] I am informed that the French fishing fleet employed on the Banks has, within the last two years, increased by no less than 120 vessels.

16. As the immediate neighbourhood of the coast of Newfoundland enables its people to cure even the fish caught on the Banks so as to produce a better quality, and at a smaller cost, than is possible for foreigners, the above evil might be expected and allowed to cure itself, if the competition were otherwise on even terms, as the production would in all probability fall off until it had reached the point where it became remunerative for all concerned. But the competition is not on even terms in other respects, and the advantages granted to the foreign fishermen by their respective Governments are such as to more than compensate for the natural advantages possessed by the people of Newfoundland, so that the former are able to maintain and continually increase their products, while the latter are less and less able to maintain the unequal struggle.

17. American fishermen are protected in the markets of the United States, which take all their produce, by a duty of 56 cents a quintal, which is almost prohibitive to the results of British industry; while the French fishermen are supported not only by a law absolutely prohibiting the importation of British-caught fish into France, but by bounties, on export and otherwise, which are equivalent to per quintal consumed in France, and varying from 8 to 12 francs per quintal, according to destination on such as is exported to foreign markets.

18. Under the circumstances, while the United States market is practically, and the French market is actually, closed to British-caught fish, the latter is by the operation of the French bounties being gradually extruded from all other markets, except as regards the limited quantity taken by Brazil[2] and other tropical countries requiring a quality such as cannot be produced by the French, owing to the want of the facilities of curing afforded by the neighbouring coast of Newfoundland.

19. At the present moment French fish can, I am told, be bought all over the continent of Europe at 12*s.* 6*d.* a quintal. The French fishermen, however, obtain for it 21*s.* a quintal—the bounty being thus equal to 72 per cent. of the value—while the British fishermen for their superior produce can obtain only 14*s.* a quintal, or 35 per cent. less.

[1] Since writing the above I have been informed on good authority that French-caught fish has this year for the first time invaded even the markets at Brazil; and though the quantity sent was small, the prices obtained were so remunerative as to render probable a large increase of export thither in the coming season.

20. It requires but little imagination to perceive how this condition of things must end, unless a remedy can be found; and but for an unusual consumption of Newfoundland fish this year in Brazil (owing to the prevalence of cholera in the Argentine Republic, and the consequent prohibition by Brazil of meat imports from Buenos Ayres and Monte Video), the distress already existing here would have been very much intensified.

21. Now it happens that the quantity of fish caught on the Banks very largely depends on the supply of fresh bait fishes, and these are principally obtained from the territorial waters of Newfoundland, or in the immediate neighbourhood, being bought by foreigners, as well as British subjects, from the fishermen of Fortune Bay and the neighbouring inlets. Salt or otherwise artificially prepared bait, though cod can be caught with it, does not attract them by any means in the same degree, while fresh bait, if the supply from the neighbouring coast were closed to foreigners, could only be procured by them on the more distant portion of the Newfoundland coast where the French have fishing rights or elsewhere at considerably greater cost, and, owing to ice, at a period of the year later by three or four weeks. If the cheaper, more ready, and more prolonged supply from the coast in the immediate neighbourhood of the Banks were cut off, there can be no doubt whatever that under no possible bounty could the quantity obtained by foreigners remain as large as at present, and in all probability it would fall off to that which would be sufficient for their home markets.

22. This being the state of the case, it is evident that Newfoundland is thus furnishing the means of its own destruction; and it cannot be a matter of surprise that its people should desire to put an end to so pernicious an anomaly, and to be permitted to adopt the principle, which I am informed has long been put into practice in England, of preventing access to their coasts on the part of foreigners for the purpose of procuring bait.

23. If the loss caused to foreigners by the cutting off of this supply were at all commensurate with that which will be suffered here from its continuance, the argument against such a measure on the ground of international comity would, of course, have much strength; but, as a matter of fact, the one is not at all comparable with the other. For, while the fishing industry in this neighbourhood is, by comparison with their other resources, of infinitesimally small importance to the other peoples concerned,

it is to the people of this colony their all in all; and the withdrawal of the privilege from foreigners, while it would at the worst cause them only a comparatively trifling inconvenience, is to us the sole means of preservation from ruin.

24. Under these circumstances the case of the colonists in favour of the proposed prohibition would be very strong, even if the foreigners to be prohibited were in no way contributing to the evil which it is designed to remedy; but in fact they are, one and all, so contributing by the exclusion of Newfoundland fish from their markets, while the French, who would probably suffer most from the proposed measure, are by reason of their export bounties chiefly responsible for its necessity.

25. Though this law, if allowed, would to a large extent place the fish production in this neighbourhood within the control of the people of this colony, they have no desire to monopolise it, and I feel satisfied that they would willingly modify the provisions of the measure in favour of such Governments as would grant a proportionate reciprocity.

26. Without of course being able to speak with certainty as to the amount of concession that would be granted by the Legislature in any particular case, I have very good reason for believing that, as regards the United States, the right of obtaining bait would be restored on the opening of the American markets to Newfoundland fish, or (if common cause be made with Canada) to all British fish; while in view of the greater expense involved in maintaining the fishery from headquarters on the other side of the Atlantic, I believe that in the case of the French the abolition, or a substantial reduction, of the export bounties would alone be held sufficient, even though the other bounties and the prohibition of the import of British fish were still retained. In a word, the principle that the colonists desire to maintain is "Live and let live," and they merely object to that of "Let others live by killing us."

26A. But whether the views of the colonists on this subject are just or not (and after much and anxious consideration of the subject I am bound to say that, in my opinion, they are based on very substantial grounds), the proposed measure of prohibition as in no way affecting the treaty rights of foreign powers can scarcely be contended to be otherwise than such as is within the competence of the local Legislature under the existing constitution of the colony; and indeed, if the same object had been aimed at by

more indirect means, and a Bill had been passed imposing a prohibitive duty on bait exported in foreign vessels, it appears open to doubt whether, under my existing instructions, I should have been justified in refusing assent to it.

27. But however this may be, any question as the competence in the matter of the Colonial Legislature has been practically set at rest by the recent allowance of the Canadian Bill, which, I am informed, adopts almost precisely similar means for securing an analogous object; and as the importance of the fisheries to the dominion is, moreover, incomparably less, for the reasons above given, than to this colony, it may be presumed that the disallowance of the Newfoundland Bill, which would appear probable from the long delay of decision, is due to some Imperial consideration which applies either not at all or in a considerably less degree to the case of Canada. If this be so, as indeed there are other reasons for believing, I would respectfully urge that in fairness the heavy resulting loss should not, or at all events not exclusively, fall upon this colony, and that if in the national interest a right is to be withheld from Newfoundland which naturally belongs to it, and the possession of which makes to it all the difference between wealth and penury, there is involved on the part of the nation a corresponding obligation to grant compensation of a value equal, or nearly equal, to that of the right withheld.

28. With further reference to the Canadian Act referred to, I may mention, as possibly having escaped notice, that its object will to a large extent fail to be secured if the similar measure of this colony should not be in force, as it is not impossible that the Americans could afford to disregard the prohibition of bait-supply on the Canadian coast, if they were assured of being able to procure all they require on the coast of Newfoundland.

29. The interests of Canada and of this colony being thus to this extent identical, it is not difficult to foresee that any further delay in the allowance of the Bill would give rise to strong pressure on the part of the Canadian Government. Unless, therefore, there be some paramount consideration that has decided Her Majesty's Government against this Bill, I would respectfully suggest that the allowance should take place before this pressure makes itself felt, and that the appearance should be avoided of conceding to a powerful dominion what has been denied to the entreaties of a comparatively weak and unimportant colony.

30. I may mention that every day's delay is causing loss to this colony in restricting preparations for next season's fishing. For the allowance of this Bill would be at once followed by a large increase in the number of British vessels employed in the Bank fishing; and even now it is too late in some cases for arrangements that would enable advantage to be taken of the earliest portion of the season.

31. Moreover, it is only fair to the French that if they are to be prohibited from procuring bait here during the coming season they should be made aware of the fact at once in order that they may restrict their operations accordingly, it being probable, as regards the large number of vessels which annually leave France for these fishing grounds, that preparations are being made already for their despatch, in order to enable them to obtain bait and commence fishing at the beginning of April; and thus not merely in the interest of this colony and Canada, but for the sake of international comity, I would respectfully urge that in the absence of a fixed decision against this measure the delay which has already taken place in respect of its allowance should not be further prolonged.

32. Now that I fully comprehend the present position of the colony it is to me no longer a matter of wonder that the Legislature has hitherto failed to ratify the proposed "Arrangement" with France; indeed, I can scarcely conceive it possible that this Arrangement will ever be accepted so long as the bait clause remains in it and no security is taken that the export bounties will not be maintained on their present footing.

33. For though all the other Articles have the appearance of concession on the part of the French, and some are no doubt substantial concessions, they are all immeasurably outweighed by the single concession required on the part of this colony. For if there were granted to the French an inalienable right to procure bait here, the future not only of the coast where they already have fishing rights, but of the whole colony would practically be placed within the control of their Government. Even if the present bounties should prove insufficient, it would require but a slight addition to them, involving an exceedingly small cost by comparison with the enormous expenditure of France, to destroy the trade of this colony altogether and at once; and in view of the great importance attached to their fisheries by the French, as the means of maintaining the strength of their navy, it would appear

by no means improbable that such an attempt would be made if there were thus withdrawn the only means of preventing its success. And this probability appears the greater when it is considered that the cessation of British production with the cause in operation that would render its recovery impossible would in all probability produce a rise in the market value of fish which would eventually render unnecessary the continuance of any bounty, so that the additional expenditure on the part of France would be only a temporary sacrifice that would secure a permanent economical gain.

34. As the matter at present appears to me, it seems deserving of the consideration of Her Majesty's Government whether it would, under any circumstances, be politic to place in the hands of the French a weapon capable of being used with such terrible effect against British interests, and whether without the security for the discontinuance of the bounties on their present footing, as above referred to, it would be wise to make further effort for the passing of the Arrangement while the bait clause is included in it.

35. In conclusion, I would respectfully express on behalf of this suffering colony the earnest hope that the vital interests of 200,000 British subjects will not be disregarded out of deference to the susceptibilities of any foreign power, and this especially when the privilege which that power desires to retain cannot be pretended to be matter of right, but is a benefit which may be lawfully withdrawn, as in the nature of a tenancy at will, and may now be justly withdrawn as being used for the infliction of fatal injury on those who have hitherto permitted its enjoyment. Sincerely hoping that the fulfilment of the desires of Newfoundland may be no longer delayed, and that I may be able to meet the Legislature next month with the announcement that this important Bill has already received Her Majesty's gracious allowance and confirmation,

I have, etc.,

(Signed) G. William Des Vœux.

The Right Honourable
Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for the Colonies.

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